LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CRUZ BUSTAMANTE'S COMMISSION FOR ONE CALIFORNIA

RACIAL PROFILING:

A DIALOGUE TOWARD SOLUTIONS

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA
SAN DIEGO, CALIFORNIA

THURSDAY, MAY 25, 2000 10:15 A.M.

Recorded by: Lt. Governor's Office ii

COMMISSION MEMBERS PRESENT

The Honorable Cruz M. Bustamante, Chair

Sunil "Sunny" Aghi, represented by Deepak Krishan

David Bejarano, represented by Rulette Armstead

Rabbi Brad Bloom

Maha ElGenaidi

Lori Fujimoto

Carole Hayashino

Herma Hill Kay

Royal F. Morales

Dr. Cecil L. "Chip" Murray, represented by Reverend Leonard Jackson

Gregory Nava

The Honorable Cruz Reynoso

Morris L. "Vern" Roberts

Leland T. Saito

Jill R. Tregor, represented by Diane Chin

Eleni Tsakopoulos-Kounalakis

ALSO PRESENT

Dr. Robert KLITGAARD, RAND Graduate School

Chief Gary Creason, Southwestern College

Officer Robert Burks

Thomas Saenz, MALDEF

ALSO PRESENT

Dr. Geraldine Washington, NAACP

Michelle Alexander, ACLU

Assistant Chief Rulette Armstead, San Diego Police Department

Ronald Davis, NOBLE and Oakland Police Department

Commissioner D.O. "Spike" Helmick, CHP

Sunny Lee, Simon Wiesenthal Center

Chief Arturo Venegas, Jr., Sacramento Police Department

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1	PROCEEDINGS
2	10:15 a.m.
3 the	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: The rest of
4	Commissioners and the audience are probably still
5	out looking at this beautiful campus, enjoying
6	this great weather, and will probably join us very
7	very soon.
8	I was told that in Calexico yesterday it
9	was 105. That's where I'm going this afternoon.
10	And in Fresno it was about 100, so I'm really glad
11	to be here.
12	I'd like to begin by welcoming the
13	Commissioners and speakers and all the community
14	leaders who are here today. I commend the
15	Commission for exercising tremendous leadership on
16	the issue of racial profiling by calling this
17	hearing.
18	It was the Commission who about six
19	weeks ago got together and believed that this
20	issue was of paramount importance at this
21	particular time. And we didn't realize the extent
22	to which the issue would grow and become a major
23	major issue, not only in California, as it already
24	was, but also in the Legislature as it's going

25 through the process of establishing some type of

- 1 legislation.
- This issue is, I quess. an
- 3 understatement to call it contentious. This issue
- 4 divides advocates who will even agree on the fact
- 5 that racial profiling is a problem, as well as law
- 6 enforcement groups who use a variety of different
- 7 techniques.
- 8 But this Commission was formed to build
- 9 bridges across communities; to explore divisive
- issues; and to find solutions and best practices.
- 11 Today we will review how law enforcement
- 12 officers learn to profile suspects, and how the
- 13 process, or individual officers or departments,
- turn that into racial profiling.
- 15 We're going to hear about the effects
- racial profiling has on communities.
- 17 (Address in Spanish language.)
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: We're going to
- 19 discuss possible policy solutions today. Some of
- 20 you, no doubt, have already formed an opinion on
- 21 which solution should be advanced. I ask that you
- 22 enter this discussion with open minds.
- The discussion today has been developed
- in a way that will bring divergent views together
- 25 for the purpose of being able to express all

viewpoints in order that we might all learn more

- about each others' side, so that we can, in fact,
- 3 learn to work together and come with reasonable
- 4 solutions to the kinds of real problems that exist
- 5 in our communities.
- We're here to shed light on what
- 7 different communities, state agencies, and
- 8 nonprofits can do to tackle this issue.
- 9 We are here today to seek solutions.
- 10 Through today's dialogue, I am confident that the
- ideas will grow.
- 12 We will begin with Dr. Robert KLITGAARD,
- 13 who is the Dean of the RAND Graduate School in
- 14 Santa Monica. He has been a professor at
- 15 Harvard's Kennedy School of Government, Yale
- 16 School of Management and the University, and he
- 17 recently co-authored the book, Corrupt Cities: A
- 18 Practical Guide to Cure and Prevention.
- 19 Dr. KLITGAARD will give us an overview of
- 20 racial profiling in a broad historical context.
- Dr. KLITGAARD.
- 22 (Applause.)
- DR. KLITGAARD: (Address in Spanish.)
- It's a great pleasure to be here this
- 25 morning. You know, professors like me do weird

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1 things when they get out and try to study problems
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- 2 such as racial profiling. But sometimes the weird
- 3 things we do can be useful.
- 4 So I want to share this morning the
- 5 story of a professor named John Lamberth, who did
- 6 a study I think you'll find interesting. And as I
- 7 tell you the story I'm going to ask you some
- 8 questions. And the people who get closest to the
- 9 right answer get a free copy of Corrupt Cities.
- 10 (Laughter.)
- 11 DR. KLITGAARD: Now, Professor Lamberth
- decided to hang out on the I-95 highway in
- 13 Maryland for a period of 42 hours. He drove along
- 14 at 55 miles an hour, when it was 55, or 65 miles
- an hour when it was 65, and counted the number of
- 16 cars that seemed to be committing traffic
- 17 infractions by either not signaling when they
- changed lanes or by going too fast.
- 19 My first question is what percentage of
- the drivers on the road do you think were
- 21 committing traffic infractions? Let's begin with
- 22 Commissioners, any guesses?
- SPEAKER: Eighty-five.
- DR. KLITGAARD: Eighty-five, 90, 95, 65?
- 25 Any in the audience want to take a crack at this?

- 1 Yes?
- 2 SPEAKER: I'd say all of them.
- 3 DR. KLITGAARD: All of them. Yes? I
- 4 think you've been on the road down from L.A. to
- 5 San Diego, which I was on this morning, going at
- 6 73 and barely keeping up with the truck lane.
- 7 Well, the answer was 93 percent. Here's
- 8 one for you.
- 9 (Applause.)
- 10 DR. KLITGAARD: The good professor also
- 11 decided to take note of the ethnic group to which
- various drivers belonged. He claimed that 97
- 13 percent of the time you could tell the ethnic
- group. I find that a little hard to believe,
- don't you? It's a little hard -- it shows a
- 16 little racial profiling on his part, perhaps,
- don't you think?
- 18 But he did find that a certain
- 19 percentage of the drivers was, he called, black.
- 20 Now, what guess -- what's your percentage of the
- drivers in the 42-hour period on the I-95 in
- 22 Maryland, what's your guess at the percentage that
- were black?
- 24 Seventy percent, 85, 40, 25, 10. Well,
- the answer is 17. So, I think between 25 and 10,

1 we'll give it to the man who had 10, that's a

- 2 little closer than 25. Okay.
- 3 SPEAKER: Well, I got 10.
- 4 DR. KLITGAARD: You got 10. We'll give
- 5 it to him --
- 6 (Laughter.)
- 7 DR. KLITGAARD: That's right, you had the
- 8 10. We'll pass one around here.
- 9 Now, he also took note of the number of
- 10 folks who were driving -- the 93 percent who were
- driving too fast, changing lanes without
- 12 signaling. What percentage of them were black?
- 13 Five, 17, 15, 45, anybody in the
- 14 audience? Ten. Well, the answer's 18. Okay,
- pass this one down to this man who said 17.
- 16 So, now, then the professor decided,
- well, let me take a look at the folks who were
- 18 stopped for traffic violations on this road over
- an 18-month period and searched. Stopped and
- searched.
- To be stopped they had to be committing
- a violation, right. That's the first order of
- condition. Now, what would be your guess about
- the percentage of folks who were searched who were
- 25 African-American, or in this case black because

1 many of the blacks were not Africa-Americans, they

- were Africans. So, what's your guess on the
- 3 number, the percentage there?
- 4 Would you guess -- 95, 85, 50, 70, 96,
- 5 90, yes, 75. Well, the answer is 73. So what did
- 6 you say?
- 7 SPEAKER: Seventy --
- 8 DR. KLITGAARD: You said 70, okay. Ron,
- 9 there's one for you here. Okay. When you come up
- 10 you can bag the book.
- 11 So, here's an example of a case where
- 12 prima facie we have evidence that 18 percent of
- the folks who were driving illegally were blacks,
- 14 but 73 percent of those who were searched were
- 15 blacks. And this is the kind of statistic that
- 16 gets people to start using words like racial
- 17 profiling.
- 18 What I'd like to do this morning in the
- 19 remaining 15 minutes that I have at my disposal is
- 20 to review the idea what is racial profiling and
- 21 what isn't it. What's it like, and what isn't it
- 22 like.
- 23 And then get our attention on solutions,
- 24 possible solutions. And I'll be a little bit
- 25 critical of some of the proposed solutions that

1 have been tossed out by our politicians. And I'll

- 2 try to suggest some ways that we might
- 3 constructively utilize the great expertise and
- 4 wisdom in this room to come up with some practical
- 5 ideas. So let me proceed with that.
- 6 First of all, what is racial profiling,
- 7 what is it like, what isn't it like. Let's define
- 8 racial profiling as the use of race as a variable
- 9 in an equation that's trying to predict something
- 10 that matters.
- 11 Equation variable. What we mean is
- 12 you're using a piece of information, which is a
- person's ethnicity or race, along with other
- information to make a decision.
- 15 What's it like. Well, let me give you
- 16 an example where we've made it illegal to do
- 17 racial profiling. Have you heard of red-lining?
- 18 Red-lining in the mortgage business. Or there's
- 19 also red-lining in the insurance business.
- 20 Where, for many years -- this goes back
- 21 historically, there are many good studies of this
- in the '20s and '30s, the term comes from because
- insurance companies would literally, on the map,
- 24 would draw with a red crayon around certain parts
- of the city which they were not going to give

1 mortgages, or they were not going to get

- insurance.
- 3 So the term red-lining was used because
- 4 it was so gross it was yes or no for entire blocks
- 5 of people. And, of course, the racial element of
- 6 this was very strong. Because these communities
- 7 that were deemed unacceptable were often places
- 8 where minority groups disproportionately lived.
- 9 The practice was banned and is now
- 10 illegal. However, the practice is still -- there
- are still people who believe, and I'm one of them,
- 12 that mortgage officers, insurance agents and so
- forth, will indeed use racial information
- 14 informally in deciding the riskiness of
- 15 applicants.
- 16 Gender information. We know that women
- 17 live longer than men. Insurance companies are not
- allowed to use that in their equation to predict
- 19 what the insurance premium should be. Even though
- 20 it's statistically valid, they're not allowed to
- 21 use it.
- 22 So that's a case where we have
- profiling, gender or racial profiling, that is
- 24 illegal even when it could be shown that, in fact,
- it has some actuarial value.

1	And here's a second case of racial
2	profiling, the use of race as one factor in
3	deciding who should be admitted to a university.
4	Most people would not say we should have race as
5	the only factor. Some people would say we should
6	have race as no factor, shouldn't be a part of the
7	consideration. One should only look at other
8	attributes.
9	Some of us, like me, would say race
10	should be one of the factors because I'm trying to
11	construct a class that's going to educate each
12	other. And if we don't have a class that
13	represents different points of view, different
14	backgrounds, we are losing an opportunity to
15	educate ourselves.
16	My students want that, my professors
17	want that, and I, a an educator, want that. So
18	when people tell me I can't use race as a factor,
19	one of the factors, not the only factor, no
20	quotas, not the only factor, but one of the
21	factors, I resist that.
22	Now, notice that looks like, logically
23	looks like the actuarial use of race in the
24	insurance problem. Because what I'm saying is I

want to use it as one of the variables to predict

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1 something, who's going to get into my school,
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- who's going to do well -- who's going to count as
- 3 getting in the RAND Graduate School, okay.
- I think it's a benevolent use of racial
- 5 profiling, or use, I should say, of race as one of
- 6 the factors of information. Others disagree with
- 7 me. I know that's a controversial judgment. And
- 8 in California one finds themselves more and more
- 9 alone in standing up for use of race in admissions
- 10 policy.
- 11 What isn't it, what isn't racial
- 12 profiling. Racial profiling is not the fact that
- there are racial differences in outcomes.
- 14 For example, if it turns out that
- 15 certain groups have more low birth weight babies.
- 16 That's not the result of racial -- necessarily the
- 17 result of racial profiling. It could be, but not
- 18 necessarily.
- 19 So the fact that we see disparate
- 20 outcomes, the fact that we see, for example, that
- 21 25 percent of violent crimes in America are
- 22 committed by people who are defined as black, as
- opposed to 12 percent of their population, does
- 24 not, prima facie, imply that there has been racial
- 25 profiling in the crime-commission process, does

1 not necessarily imply. There may be something

- 2 going on there.
- 3 But let's separate the question of do we
- 4 use race as a factor in making a decision about
- 5 who to pull over, who to admit, who to give
- 6 insurance to, who to stop at the border. Do we
- 7 use it there? As opposed to the questions what
- 8 are the outcomes and are there differences in the
- 9 outcomes.
- 10 Now why is it bad, why is racial
- 11 profiling bad. One reason it can be bad is
- because we have the wrong equation. Admissions
- officers at leading universities often use their
- own judgments about who should be admitted.
- I used to be Faculty Chairman of
- 16 Admissions at the Kennedy School of Government at
- 17 Harvard when I was a professor there. And I
- 18 studied how the admissions process worked at
- 19 Harvard College and at the Medical School and so
- 20 forth.
- 21 And each professor, each member of the
- 22 admissions committee thought she or he was a great
- judge of who was going to be successful, a great
- determiner of what was diversity. And they had
- their own little equations, untrained by

1 statistics. You want to look at the results of

- who actually -- no, no, no, I can tell.
- In your company you may have people like
- 4 that, who are the interviewers. Oh, yeah, this
- 5 guy's going to be great. Well, how do you know
- 6 that? Well, I can tell. Right.
- 7 So we have that kind of sort of
- 8 untrained use. Much of the criticism of racial
- 9 profiling in say the Customs Bureau has been that
- 10 here's a junior customs officer who's out there
- 11 making a judgment about who's a risky individual
- 12 with no data except her or his prejudices.
- 13 So, one idea is that we don't mind
- 14 racial profiling as long as the statistics are
- 15 correct. We wouldn't mind if 18 percent of the
- 16 folks stopped were blacks, if blacks are 1 percent
- 17 more likely to commit traffic crimes, if that
- happens to be true.
- 19 That's one view. I'm not saying I hold
- that view, that's one view. So it could be
- 21 because the profiling equation is statistically
- inefficient.
- 23 Another view is forget about whether
- it's efficient or not, it's perfectly valid, but
- it creates costs that we, in our society, are

- 1 unwilling to pay.
- 2 Let me give you an example from Bolivia
- 3 where I worked once trying to clean up the customs
- 4 bureau, as a foreign adviser for the minister of
- 5 finance.
- The customs officials were paid about
- 7 \$30 a month. When someone would come in with
- 8 goods that could be duty-able, the customs
- 9 official would say, gee, that looks like you have
- 10 to pay a duty for that. And the guy would say,
- 11 here's \$20. Fine, go right through.
- 12 And this would happen with trucks at the
- 13 border. It would happen with people at the
- border. So, working with the customs official we
- 15 invented an experiment which would give the
- 16 customs officials a share of additional revenues
- 17 that were raised through correct enforcement of
- 18 customs rules.
- 19 So they would get 5 percent of the
- 20 additional amount and that would lead to a
- 21 significant increase in their salary.
- 22 We knew it wouldn't eliminate corruption
- because if somebody offers them \$10,000 to bring
- in something they may still accept it, but, in
- fact, customs revenues soared over the next year.

1 And we believe, from all accounts, that corruption

- went down.
- 3 But can you predict a side effect of
- 4 this policy? If we didn't measure the harassment
- 5 of people at the border, and count that, they
- 6 would open each suitcase, wouldn't they? Because
- 7 there would be some slight probability of getting
- 8 more contraband or more things to duty, but it
- 9 would slow the whole process down; it would ruin
- 10 tourism in Bolivia; it would create huge costs for
- 11 the merchants who were bringing in their goods.
- So you could see there would be a non-
- 13 optimal cost created to the rest of the folks,
- 14 many of whom are honest, from this elaborate
- 15 search process. And I think you see where I'm
- 16 going now.
- 17 If the search and seizure process in
- 18 police work or customs or at the airport is
- 19 burdensome and creates social costs and stigma,
- then we might say, look, in this case the costs
- 21 are just too high.
- 22 If it's as simple as at the border
- asking you, please show your ID, and then you
- drive on you way, we might say, well, that's not
- too big a cost.

1	And, in fact, courts in California have
2	judged that when the customs bureau stops 1
3	percent of the people at the border, and the
4	burden is small, they just get stopped and asked a
5	few questions, step out of the car and so forth,
6	not handcuffed, thrown down on the ground, taken
7	to jail, abused by, you know, discourtesy.
8	It turns out 20 percent of the time they
9	stop people of this 1 percent, there have been a
10	drug problem or illegal immigrant problem. So
11	it's a batting average of one in five. Four out
12	of five were not. So four out of five were
13	false/positives of the 1 percent.
14	And the court said, that's okay, that's
15	a pretty good batting average. We think the
16	social benefits of that 20 percent you identified
17	outweighs the social costs of the 80 percent, even
18	though the profiling equation turned out to target
19	Hispanics, or Latinos.
20	They don't like that, but they said the

They don't like that, but they said the cost/benefit calculation -- now, you may have a different view of that. You may say that's not worth it, 20 percent isn't enough. If it was 80 percent you might change your mind.

I know if it went down from 20 to 1

percent I would change my mind. I don't know what

- 2 I feel about 20 percent.
- 3 But what I'm trying to get at is there's
- 4 a calculation of benefits and costs, so we might
- say, even if the equation is right on, we may say
- 6 it creates too many social costs.
- 7 Now, the story of racial profiling we've
- 8 been reading in the ACLU's excellent work, and in
- 9 a wide ranging of case studies we've had in the
- 10 literature on this subject demonstrates the
- 11 enormous social costs that people feel in
- communities because of racial profiling in police
- 13 work.
- 14 And that's a big question for us to
- 15 decide, is how can we weigh those kinds of -- how
- 16 can we document those costs and weigh them against
- 17 the kinds of situations where even so the benefits
- in terms of reduced crime would be so great that
- we would say it's worth it.
- 20 Can we identify those situations when
- 21 it's worth it, when it isn't worth it, and can we
- reason that through.
- Now, a final way to think about why
- don't we like it, is just because we say it's
- 25 morally wrong. We say we don't want to use race

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in any way in any equation in public life.
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- So the person who's systematically

 opposed to affirmative action should be, by this

 view, systematically opposed to racial profiling

 in police work. Isn't it interesting how those

 don't match up, though.
- Seems to me that many times the people

 who are most opposed to racial profiling in police

 work seem to be most interested in affirmative

 action. And those who are most opposed to

 affirmative action in the State of California are

 most defensive of the practices of policemen using

 racial categories.
- Now, we've talked about what it is and
 what it isn't. We've talked about thinking about
 when it's wrong why it's wrong. I've separated
 the benefit/cost idea from the moral idea.

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And now I want to take us to the question of what to do about it. Now one idea about what to do about things we don't like is to forbid them. So if we don't like discrimination, we pass a law against it. If we don't like racial profiling, we say, here's a regulation that says you can't do it, as we've done in red-lining. We,

in fact, have a law about red-lining.

1 Now, in police work it turns out it's

- 2 pretty hard to know what effect that would have,
- 3 because we don't understand very well what the
- 4 incentives are for the policemen, themselves.
- 5 Let me go back to that Maryland case.
- 6 This is interesting. The professor -- I told you
- 7 these professors are weird guys, they study things
- 8 in strange ways.
- 9 The professor went ahead and studied
- 10 which policemen, which troopers stopped how many
- 11 people. And he created sort of a top ten list.
- 12 It turned out 13 troopers along that road over a
- 13 year and a half made 85 percent of the stops.
- 14 There were 823 searches. One trooper
- 15 made 150 of those 825. Okay, 13 of them had at
- 16 least 10.
- Now, that one guy, the 150, obviously he
- 18 had an idea of police work that said searches are
- really a good way to get crimes done. By the way,
- 75 percent of the stops that he made were at
- 21 blacks.
- 22 Another guy made only 12 stops, but
- every single one was a black. But two other
- 24 troopers who made a lot of stops had percentages
- of blacks that were 22 percent, and 32 percent.

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1 Still above the 18 percent, but much different.
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- 2 So if you look at this police force you
- 3 have to make conclusions. Conclusion one: The
- 4 practice that suspect, namely surveillance and in
- 5 this case searching, is not uniformly distributed
- 6 across all officers. They don't have a rule of
- 7 the game about this. This is freestyle judgment
- 8 by these policemen.
- 9 Second, the use of the racial
- 10 information on who they stop was clearly varying
- 11 across policemen.
- So therefore, it seems to me that in
- that case passing a rule saying, by the way you
- 14 can't do this, would be a very difficult thing to
- 15 make stick.
- 16 If you think about does banning -- is
- 17 banning, by itself, sufficient. My answer to that
- is no. It's not sufficient. We have to do more.
- 19 So, what's the second step. A second
- step is widely touted right now, is to collect
- 21 data. To collect data about the race and other
- 22 attributes of people being stopped by the police.
- 23 Ohio law enforcement authorities
- estimate this would lead to 135,000 hours of extra
- work in a year, costing \$4.5 million extra, just

- to record that information.
- Now, you probably know that Sheriff
- Baca -- Sheriff Baca isn't here, is he, today? I
- 4 wish he was here to tell us about this. Has an
- 5 experiment, a pilot project now where you put a
- 6 camera on the police officer, \$150,000 pilot
- 7 project. Which would be a quick way to find out
- 8 what's going on with every single stop.
- 9 There is a police department in northern
- 10 California that has a \$5,500 item, it's a camera
- 11 on the car, a police car. Which every time the
- lights go on like this, the camera starts up.
- 13 Sheriff Baca's proposal, if it were
- 14 generalized in his department, costs \$4.3 million
- 15 a year, everybody with a camera. And that would
- be a way of gathering data.
- 17 But my question is data for what?
- Suppose we had all the data in the world about the
- 19 practices, as our professor did in Maryland. What
- 20 would we do with it.
- 21 And here is where I hope to learn a lot
- from you today. And let me suggest some of the
- things I think we should be focusing on.
- 24 First of all, what are the incentives
- inside the police department? Why do they do

- 1 this? Okay.
- Now, there are some bad incentives. I
- 3 feel like it; I don't like people of a certain
- 4 race; or I have these stereotypes which are ill-
- 5 informed, that we have to forbid in our society.
- 6 We don't allow stereotyping in our society.
- 7 It could be that there's good police
- 8 work here, that certain kinds of people such as
- 9 young men, compared to young women, are, in fact,
- much more prone to violent crimes, 95 percent to 5
- 11 percent.
- 12 So if you don't use the fact that it's a
- 13 young male in who you do surveillance on, you
- 14 know, you're being not a very good policeman or
- 15 policewoman.
- 16 So there is this question of what are
- 17 the incentives, how does it actually work, how do
- 18 they train people? Is this an individual thing,
- as it clearly is in the Maryland department? Or
- is this a formalized thing? What's the equation
- that's being used here?
- What are the rewards that is driving
- this behavior? Could we change those rewards
- through the use of information, and financial and
- other incentives so that this kind of work would

- 1 be less?
- 2 For example, going back to my customs
- 3 bureau example. If you said you're going to share
- 4 in the rewards of additional customs revenue we
- 5 generate, but we're also keeping track of
- 6 complaints by citizens. We're also keeping track
- 7 of how long it takes to get a suitcase through
- 8 customs or a truck through customs, and your
- 9 reward system will be based on all of that.
- In the case of racial profiling imagine
- 11 for a moment we had God as our research assistant
- 12 and we could know any numbers we want to know that
- 13 could change the system. What would we want to
- 14 know? Would we want to know, for example, how
- 15 many people are false/positives and what's the
- 16 cost that they feel when they're pulled over and
- 17 they feel it's simply because of their race, or
- their age, or whatever it might be.
- 19 About 79 percent of American blacks
- 20 between 18 and 44 believe that they have been
- 21 pulled over at least once just for their race,
- 22 compared to 6 percent of whites. It's a stunning
- 23 number.
- 24 What does the number look like? Could
- 25 we easily create some information about these

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1 kinds of complaints and what the cost is? Is it
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- 2 quickly just being stopped, and you're on your
- 3 way? That's a cost. But it's another thing when
- 4 you're handcuffed, taken to jail, and some of
- 5 these horror stories we've been reading about.
- 6 What do we know about that? Could we
- 7 change the behavior of police forces so that we
- 8 have localized information on things like crime
- 9 rates, crimes reported, arrest rates, searches
- 10 that result in arrest, and searches that don't
- 11 result in arrest, and complaints? Would that be a
- 12 system that would enable us to create some better
- incentives? I know Ron is thinking about this in
- 14 Oakland.
- 15 So, my ultimate suggestion is the
- 16 following. And the reason in fact I was invited
- 17 here today is because of this new book of mine
- 18 called Corrupt Cities, and I see I have a few left
- over, so afterwards if you'd like a copy, first
- 20 come, first served.
- 21 The point of my book is to say that the
- standard approach to the way we think about
- corruption is mistaken. We take it as a moral
- 24 issue. It is a moral issue. We take it as a
- question of just have better rule, let's have

1 another rule that forbids bribery, as if that, by

- 2 itself, would be enough.
- If we could just change people's
- 4 behavior and get out the bad eggs, okay, that's
- 5 true, too. But we know from many countries,
- 6 including our own, that simply having rules on the
- 7 books about corruption, or declaring that we
- 8 should have a higher moral standard in our
- 9 government, or saying let's get rid of the few
- 10 guys we've caught, we know that's not enough.
- 11 And so it is with the question of
- 12 profiling. We have to take this problem not as a
- 13 problem of bad individuals, of racist policemen,
- 14 in this case, individual rednecks types that we
- 15 stereotype from our tv shows, but as a problem of
- 16 systems that we can try to reform.
- 17 First, we have to understand them. But
- 18 we have to take it as a problem of systems. It is
- 19 a problem we need more data, perhaps. But as in
- 20 the case of corruption now the World Bank is
- 21 running surveys all over the world about people's
- 22 perception of corruption. As if simply by knowing
- how much people perceive it exists, somehow that
- leads to a remedy. I don't think it does. I
- think data, by themselves, without a purpose are

- 1 not very helpful here.
- 2 Corruption is also one of those problems
- 3 where people immediately jump to we need a new
- 4 law, a new regulation, a new moral code. And I
- 5 think we need new incentives and new sources of
- 6 information about what's actually going on, to
- 7 understand from the point of view of the community
- 8 and the police department how these systems are
- 9 working and not working.
- 10 It's taken to be an issue, as we've seen
- in so much political rhetoric, where what we need
- is a fiery speech denouncing this as corrosive, to
- use the words of President Clinton, and I think
- 14 when we have a tough issue is when we need to be
- 15 less fiery and more cool and more systematic.
- 16 And that's why I'm so happy to be here
- 17 today, thank you, Lt. Governor, for inviting me
- 18 today, I'm so happy to be here as part of this
- 19 distinguished group to learn and think
- 20 systematically about this very difficult issue.
- Thank you very much.
- (Applause.)
- 23 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you, Dr.
- 24 KLITGAARD.
- 25 We're hopeful that, as you finished your

1 statement, we're hopeful to be able to do the same

- 2 kinds of things.
- When we began looking into the issue of
- 4 racial profiling one of the very first questions
- 5 that I asked was how are officers trained. How
- 6 are they taught to use discretion and to make
- 7 choices.
- 8 Our next speak is Chief Gary Creason,
- 9 who will help us try to understand this process.
- 10 Chief Creason has been involved in law enforcement
- 11 since 1973. He has served as the Director of the
- 12 Southwestern College Police Academy since 1995,
- 13 and also serves as the Chief of Police for the
- 14 Academy.
- 15 Chief Creason, why don't you come on up.
- 16 (Applause.)
- 17 CHIEF CREASON: Thank you, Lt. Governor.
- 18 Good morning, ladies and gentlemen of the
- 19 Commission. I am honored to be here this morning.
- 20 I'd like to begin this morning by giving
- 21 you a brief overview of the California Commission
- on Peace Officer Standards and Training. And then
- on to the historical development of what is
- 24 commonly referred to as the regular basic course,
- or a police academy.

1	L	There	are	many	specific	subjects	ΟI

- 2 training in each of the 39 certified law
- 3 enforcement academies in our great state. And
- 4 again, there are 39 academies throughout
- 5 California.
- 6 Approximately 50 percent of those
- 7 academies are law enforcement agency academies,
- 8 and the other 50 percent are offered through
- 9 community colleges.
- 10 The California Commission on Peace
- 11 Officer Standards and Training, which is commonly
- 12 referred to as the POST Commission, or POST, if
- you will, is a group that is specified in Penal
- 14 Code section 13500.
- The Commission consists of 14 members,
- 16 13 of whom are appointed by the Governor, and with
- 17 the advice and consent of the California State
- 18 Senate. The 14th member is ex-officio in nature,
- and is the attorney general.
- The Commission is the organizational
- 21 policy-setting body and meets quarterly to
- 22 establish standards and policies and adopt
- regulations regarding peace officer training in
- the state.
- 25 In carrying out its responsibilities,

1 the Commission cooperates and secures cooperation

- 2 from the local law enforcement agencies and other
- 3 systems of public instruction, such as community
- 4 colleges.
- 5 The basic law enforcement requirements
- 6 are specified by approximately 400 educational
- 7 objectives. To successfully complete this course
- 8 of instruction each student must master a certain
- 9 percentage of the educational objectives in each
- of 42 learning domains.
- 11 An educational objective describes an
- 12 instructional outcome and serves as a blueprint
- for developing standards for the completion of the
- 14 course.
- 15 In July of 1993 the Commission adopted
- 16 training specifications as its method of
- 17 specifying the regular basic course curriculum.
- 18 And the California Office of Administrative Law
- 19 granted approval which became effective January
- 20 14, 1994.
- 21 For each learning domain, and once again
- there are 42 domains, the training specification
- describes instructional goals, topics and minimum
- hourly requirements.
- Where a learning domain includes

learning activity or examination, these

2 requirements are also described in the training

- 3 specifications.
- 4 The POST student workbook, and I have
- 5 brought an example of that with me today, is an
- 6 instructional system, if you will, which consists
- 7 of a self-paced student workbook and corresponding
- 8 instructor materials.
- 9 These materials are based on each of the
- 10 42 basic course learning domains. These
- instructor materials provide guidance and
- 12 suggestions on how to use the materials, such as
- 13 the content, the workbook learning activities,
- examinations, quizzes, etc.
- 15 Also, each instructor materials guide
- 16 includes information regarding specific targets
- for student learning. These include key
- 18 vocabulary, a chapter synopsis, activities or
- 19 exercises, discussion points relative to that
- 20 particular subject, and a self-assessment quiz
- that the student takes.
- 22 Each instructor materials guide also
- 23 contains a complete copy of the student workbook
- for that particular learning domain. And I might
- add that an instructor material book, which this

1 is, is a mirror image of the workbook that each

- 2 student studies by, as well.
- 3 The student workbook contains materials
- 4 approved by the POST Commission and is an aid to
- 5 instructors in meeting the minimum training
- 6 standards.
- 7 Now, let's move along to the self-
- 8 assessment quiz contained in each domain. The
- 9 self-assessment quiz is included at the beginning
- 10 of each student workbook and allows students to
- 11 check their knowledge and understanding of a
- 12 content from a specific learning domain prior to
- the instruction being given.
- 14 The quizzes are intended to be used in a
- 15 number of ways, and these are as a pretest to
- 16 measure their own knowledge before reviewing the
- 17 materials. As an introduction to the key topic
- 18 points and depth of information that will be
- 19 covered in the workbook. And as a review tool to
- 20 check the student's understanding after they have
- 21 completed the workbook.
- 22 And let me give you an example of a quiz
- 23 question, which is specifically directed at
- 24 cultural diversity:
- 25 During a routine traffic stop a peace

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              officer makes contact with a driver who
 2
              speaks little English. If the office has no
              familiarity with the driver's native
 3
              language, which of the following strategies
 4
              should be attempted:
                And the choices of answers are: A)
              speaking more quietly to avoid intimidation.
              B) pausing frequently. C) using minimal
 8
 9
              gestures since they may be misinterpreted.
             D) all of the above. And E) none of the
10
11
              above.
                   Well, of course the correct answer is D)
12
        all of the above.
13
14
                   Next I'd like to address the area of the
         instruction that I personally feel is extremely
15
         important in any profession, and that is ethics
16
17
         and ethical behavior.
18
                   This topic is addressed in learning
19
         domain number one, and is usually presented as one
         of the first classes in any basic law enforcement
20
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- 22 Also included in this domain is the
- 23 history of law enforcement, as well as

academy in this state.

24 professionalism.

21

This domain covers the law enforcement

1 code of ethics, and I have a copy that was passed

- 2 out to the Commissioners.
- 3 This code of ethics outlines a code of
- 4 professional conduct and represents what peace
- 5 officers' responsibilities are.
- 6 Most instructors present verbal word
- 7 picture dilemmas that the academy students will
- 8 work through in small groups. They'll formulate
- 9 their decisions, along with the reasons for their
- 10 positions, on the dilemma; and it will be
- 11 discussed in a large group forum.
- 12 An example of an ethical dilemma would
- 13 be:
- Two police officers on uniform patrol stop
- for lunch at the same neighborhood restaurant
- 16 each and every day. After the officers
- 17 purchase lunch several times, the restaurant
- 18 owner begins telling them there is no charge,
- 19 and thanking them for making their
- 20 neighborhood safe. If the owner is making
- 21 this offer with no expectation of favor are
- the officers committing an unethical or
- 23 inappropriate action in accepting these
- 24 meals? Answer yes or answer no.
- Well, of course the students' answers on

this question vary widely initially. And there's

- 2 a great deal of discussion on both of the answers.
- 3 So if you'd please refer to the handout
- 4 that I presented to you this morning, to paragraph
- 5 number three. The code of ethics specifically
- 6 states that a peace officer should never accept a
- 7 gratuity.
- 8 Also the code of professional conduct,
- 9 which is another standard that California peace
- 10 officers are taught to follow, in section 8.1 it
- 11 states, and I quote, "Peace officers shall refuse
- to offer, give or receive gifts, favors or
- 13 gratuities, either large or small, which can be
- 14 reasonably interpreted as capable of influencing
- official acts or judgments." End quote.
- 16 The acceptance of gratuities by peace
- 17 officers or other unethical behavior may, and
- 18 often does, compromise the integrity of the
- 19 officer, their agency and the law enforcement
- 20 profession.
- 21 So as you can see by these examples,
- 22 each of the 39 basic course presenters teaches
- that peace officers have the ability to exercise
- 24 discretionary decision-making and make choices in
- their everyday duties.

And that brings me to the next topic of presentation, which is discretionary decision-

3 making.

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Throughout a peace officer's career they
are expected to make independent decisions and
choices regarding each and every contact they have
with the public. They're encouraged to enforce
the spirit of the law rather than the letter of
the law.

For example, on a traffic stop with a citizen who fails to make a complete stop at a posted stop sign, the officer has the discretion of issuing a citation or a verbal warning. If the violation nearly caused a traffic collision, then perhaps a citation is in order. If, however, there was no collision, then a warning may suffice. And, again, the peace officer makes that decision without consulting a supervisor or any other authority within their agency. They're on their own when they're in the field.

And certainly all of us, I think, would agree that the citizen who receives a verbal warning rather than a citation drives away much relieved and happy that they don't have to pay a fine. And hopefully it is an educational

- 1 experience for them.
- In addition, if the officer is courteous
- and professional the contact is much more positive
- 4 and brings credit to the officer, his agency and
- 5 the law enforcement profession.
- In general, that all ties together and
- 7 it's titled community oriented policing. The
- 8 citizen hopefully has more respect for law
- 9 enforcement. And let's face it, word of mouth
- 10 advertising can be a wonderful thing for law
- 11 enforcement or any other profession.
- Once again, peace officers are expected
- to make these choices and decisions based upon the
- circumstances in each incident they encounter.
- 15 Next, I'd like to touch upon recognizing
- 16 diversity and what is taught in our basic courses
- in the State of California.
- 18 Each of the 39 academies teaches that
- 19 peace officers must recognize and respect the
- 20 complexities of cultural diversity in order to
- 21 develop the skills necessary for identifying and
- responding to California's changing communities.
- The word culture is a broadly used term
- that refers to a complex group of shared
- 25 characteristics, including beliefs, values, ways

of thinking, behaviors, customs or traditions.

- 2 Further, academy students are taught
- 3 that cultural diversity means the representation
- 4 or existence of individuals with distinctly
- 5 different group affiliations.
- 6 Also that there is no one set of common
- 7 elements or characteristics that can be applied to
- 8 all cultures. That cultures, just as the people
- 9 who make up the groupings, are always in a state
- of change and development.
- 11 We also teach that understanding
- cultural influences on individuals can help peace
- officers recognize and influence patterns of
- behavior and build more effective relationships
- 15 within the community and within law enforcement.
- 16 In addition, we teach that California
- 17 has never been homogenous society, it has always
- been made up of groups of peoples representing
- 19 many different cultures, races and ethnic groups.
- 20 Finally, we teach that California's
- 21 constantly changing cultural diversity is placing
- 22 new demands on law enforcement. And that many law
- 23 enforcement agencies are becoming more culturally
- diverse in and of themselves, and in their ranks,
- and are reflecting the communities they serve.

1	To accomplish the goal of driving home
2	the points of cultural diversity, most instructors
3	in academies will have the students participate in
4	learning activities.
5	An example of a question that students
6	are asked to answer that really drives home the
7	point is:
8	Describe your own culture. How many
9	generations within your family have been born
10	in the United States? How many were born in
11	California? What do others need to know
12	about your cultural heritage to work more
13	effectively with you?
14	The next question asked would be:
15	To list cultural groups other than those
16	representing specific ethnicity that you
17	personally identify with.
18	Using only the population of each
19	individual class, who are you in this class?
20	And who do you identify with? List the
21	ethnicities that are represented in your
22	class. How many of your classmates were born
23	in California, or born in another state, or
24	another country? List the number of
25	languages that are spoken. What is the

1	gender and racial makeup of the class?
2	Then they're asked to describe a recent
3	experience that they have personally encountered
4	where, as an individual they felt different when
5	they were out with a group. And what exactly made
6	them feel that way. How long did the feeling
7	last? And what did they do to feel like a part of
8	the group?
9	And the last thing they're asked to do
10	is assume that they have been assigned to serve in
11	a particular area of a city with a very large, for
12	instance, IndoChinese population. What resources
13	would they call upon to identify and learn about
14	the specific groups within that jurisdiction. The
15	people that they're going to be working with on a
16	daily basis.
17	And each student has had the opportunity
18	to write down I'm sorry, once they've had the
19	opportunity to write down their responses, they're
20	asked to share their answers. They're not forced
21	to share their answers, they're asked to share
22	their answers.
23	When students share this information it
24	drives home the point that we're all from

different cultures, ethnicities, groups or

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1 affiliations, and we are all, in fact, human
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- 2 beings and deserve to be treated as such.
- 3 And the last topic I'd like to touch
- 4 upon is profiling. None of the academies, to my
- 5 knowledge, teaches or advocates profiling. And
- 6 the POST Commission has not instituted curriculum
- 7 into the basic course regarding profiling.
- 8 We deal with criminal behavior, no
- 9 matter what a person's skin color, how they may
- 10 appear. It's behavior that we are addressing.
- 11 So, in conclusion, ladies and gentlemen,
- 12 as you can see, the basic law enforcement training
- in this state is quite in depth and covers a
- 14 multitude of subjects.
- 15 We emphasize ethics, professionalism,
- 16 honesty and integrity throughout the curriculum.
- All of these traits, if you will, must be woven
- 18 into each and every subject, activity and lesson
- 19 presented in the academies.
- 20 And now if any of the Commissioners have
- any questions, I'd be more than happy to answer
- 22 them.
- Thank you very much.
- 24 (Applause.)
- 25 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: I don't think

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1 it's going to be that easy, Chief. I think that
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- 2 in the open discussion I think you'll probably
- 3 find -- you'll be all available here for that
- 4 discussion, and I'm asking the Commissioners to
- 5 make sure and write down all of their questions so
- 6 that we can have a very in-depth round-table
- 7 discussion on all of these issues.
- 8 I'm also checking to see if it's okay
- 9 with the Commission to go ahead, since it looks
- 10 like we're going to be running late because of the
- 11 number of items that we're going to cover, if we
- 12 could just go ahead and work right through lunch
- and have lunch right here, so that the discussion
- can really evolve. We have a very short lunch
- period, anyway. If that's --
- 16 (End tape 1A.)
- 17 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Okay, great,
- 18 great. All right. So, let's make sure that
- there's good bag lunches and stuff, okay.
- 20 (Laughter.)
- 21 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Many people
- 22 would question whether that training that we've
- just heard about is properly utilized in the
- 24 field.
- 25 Officer Robert Burks has been involved

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in law enforcement over 20 years. He's a regular
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- 2 speaker in conferences and panels on police
- 3 conduct, and was recently featured on an CNN
- 4 special that focused on driving while black.
- 5 Officer Burks will make a presentation
- on the realities of what happens in the fields.
- 7 Officer Burks.
- 8 (Applause.)
- 9 OFFICER BURKS: First of all, my name is
- 10 Robert Burks, and I have to do a little disclaimer
- 11 because I am a California Highway Patrol Officer
- with over 20 years of road patrol. Today I'm
- 13 speaking as a private citizen, and any opinions or
- views I express here today are my own personal
- opinions based on my training and experience. I
- do not represent any department or agency, nor do
- 17 I claim to represent any department or agency.
- And with that in mind, first of all I'd
- 19 like to thank the Lt. Governor for organizing this
- forum. It's a very very much needed forum for us
- 21 to talk about the issues of racial profiling and
- 22 other race-based issues in California.
- I think that's one of the major problems
- that we have with race, we don't want to talk
- about it. And it's something we just have to talk

- 1 about it.
- 2 And the reason I think people don't want
- 3 to really talk about it is we all share some
- 4 responsibility for what happens with the race-
- 5 based issues, whether we are actually involved in
- 6 the types of discriminatory or racial issues, or
- 7 whether we just ignore them. But certainly we all
- 8 have a role to play and we all share some of the
- 9 responsibility.
- 10 One of the things that I've been
- 11 noticing is that a lot of people are starting to
- talk about racial profiling and police conduct,
- 13 but the thing about it is I see very few officers
- 14 coming forward to talk about racism and racial
- 15 profiling.
- 16 And if we're to get or have some
- 17 solutions to these issues we're going to have to
- have officers coming forward and talking about
- 19 these issues.
- 20 And one of the reasons they don't come
- forward and talk about these issues is the
- 22 department targets them for disciplinary action
- and other things when they do step forward.
- 24 But I am a person who is not afraid of
- anything. I took a sworn oath to defend the

1 Constitution of the State of California against

- 2 all enemies, foreign and domestic. So, if my
- 3 chief or my commissioner wants to take me on for
- 4 talking about these issues, well, let's get it on.
- 5 (Laughter.)
- 6 OFFICER BURKS: But, anyway, again one
- 7 of the things that we need to do is get more law
- 8 enforcement officers involved in talking about
- 9 these issues. And one of the ways that we can
- 10 know how these officers come to their conclusions
- about how they react to the public is simply by
- 12 having them talk about it.
- 13 And one of the things we want to do is
- 14 have good officers to stand up and root out the
- 15 bad officers. And when we do that you're going to
- 16 find that things are going to run much smoother in
- 17 law enforcement.
- And I'm going to talk about several
- 19 things. I'm not used to speaking such a small
- amount of time, I mean I'm used to talking for
- 21 hours, so you have to bear with me, I'm going to
- try to throw a lot of information at you in a
- 23 short period of time. It doesn't always work, and
- I know I'm going to miss some information, so just
- 25 bear with me. I'm trying to pick out, select the

good stuff for you, Governor, because I do know

- 2 you need this stuff.
- 3 Let me just tell you, one of the reasons
- 4 I got involved in law enforcement is because I was
- 5 definitely afraid of police, because I have always
- 6 known how police officers react to African-
- 7 American people. And I was definitely afraid of
- 8 them. So, you know, I am definitely afraid of
- graveyards, but I would hide in a graveyard to get
- 10 away from a police officer.
- 11 Because, again, I saw so many things
- 12 happen. And I thought one day, this is absolutely
- 13 crazy, I can't be doing this. What I need to do
- 14 is become an officer and change what happens in
- 15 the law enforcement. And that's what I've tried
- 16 to do, and that's why I've not only tried to go
- 17 out and provide the best service to the community
- 18 that I can, but I also wanted to change the
- 19 perception and the way people like myself see
- 20 police officers.
- 21 And in doing so I started back in 1973
- getting all the training that I could in law
- 23 enforcement. I started out by participating in a
- 24 program that they offered in the university that
- 25 was an extension of the military services called

1 Project Transition, which trained you in an area

- of civilian employment. And I chose law
- 3 enforcement. And I learned a lot doing that
- 4 course.
- 5 But I also noticed some other things
- 6 that very very few African-Americans, people of
- 7 color, were involved in law enforcement. And as I
- 8 went through the training I started to understand
- 9 why there was so few people of color involved in
- 10 law enforcement.
- 11 One of the things that we have to really
- 12 understand about law enforcement is there is
- 13 racism and discrimination in law enforcement. And
- until we accept those facts, then we're not going
- 15 to really get to the real meat of the issue.
- 16 Which means that a lot of the people that you see
- 17 patrolling your streets and highways have
- 18 preconceived conceptions about who the criminals
- 19 are. And their preconceived conceptions are that
- 20 people of color, and African-Americans
- 21 specifically, are the people who are the
- 22 criminals.
- 23 And one of the things is the Doc also
- 24 talked about what was the motive behind officers
- doing the kinds of things that they do. And one

of the things is what is the incentive. The

- 2 incentive is that most good officers want to catch
- 3 criminals, that's the bottomline. They do want to
- 4 catch criminals.
- 5 And the thing about it is their
- 6 perception is, again, that African-Americans are
- 7 the criminals. And it kind of came out of -- it's
- 8 kind of institutionalized, because it came out of
- 9 the civil rights movement.
- 10 The African-Americans who were fighting
- for their civil rights, the police were the people
- there who were trying to keep them from doing
- certain things. And the politicians and all those
- 14 people in control sent the police out to get these
- 15 black people under control.
- 16 And as a result the police saw black
- 17 people as the number one enemy in this country.
- 18 Bottomline.
- And, again, all the young guys who
- 20 wanted to become police officers felt like that if
- 21 they were going to be good police officers they
- would have to get these people under control.
- They would have to arrest as many of these people
- as they could.
- 25 And that trend has continued, although

1 it's not so blatant and obvious, but it's now done

- 2 in a subtle way.
- 3 And one of the examples that I gave, and
- 4 I always try to give, of a co-worker who is not
- 5 really a prejudiced guy, in fact I think he's a
- 6 nice guy, but his perception is kind of off-
- 7 center. And what I mean by that is he told me
- 8 that if he saw a person who looked like me,
- 9 dressed like me, my height and everything, if that
- 10 individual was a white person, white male, and he
- 11 saw him with a weapon he would feel -- the first
- 12 thing that would pop in his mind is that guy's a
- law enforcement officer.
- 14 At the same time, the same guy says that
- if he saw me, a black man, same height, wearing
- 16 the same clothes, hair cut the same way, and he
- 17 saw me with a weapon, the first thing he would
- think is there's a criminal.
- 19 So, again, this guy, I mean again, he's
- 20 a nice guy. He started learning about perceptions
- 21 and discrimination and racism because he ended up
- having a grandson who was black. Actually his mom
- is white and his father's black. So he had a
- 24 mixed grandson. So he started paying more
- attention to what his own perceptions were.

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1
                   A lot of these guys, they don't
 2
         really -- some of them do, and others don't.
         just the way they've been trained. They think
 3
         that black people are the criminals. And I think
         that's why you see a higher number of African-
         Americans being arrested; a higher number of
         African-Americans being stopped. Because they are
         presumed to be the likely criminals.
 8
 9
                   How do we change that? Through
10
         training, through talking about it, through forums
11
         like this, people like you coming to forums,
         getting together, talking about how we're going to
12
         resolve this thing. And then going back and say,
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14
         hey, this is what we're going to do to change it.
                   Again, road patrol officers receive
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16
         awards for the number of arrests they make
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         including the number of citations they issue. So,
         again, having the perception that these people who
18
         are African-Americans, who are people of color,
19
         are the criminals, naturally they're going to
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21
         instinctively go after those people.
                   It's not so much that they are trained
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         to go after black people or people of color, it's
23
         just that the perception is that these are the
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criminals, and that's who you go after.

Again, you also have some people who are

outright prejudice and who do discriminate, who

will go after black people, who will go after

4 people of color. So those people are in the \min ,

5 too.

So when you get those types of people
involved in law enforcement you're going to have a
disproportionate number of people of color being
stopped, you're going to have the racial profiling
going on, and other issues that's related with
racial biases.

One of the clues that you can use to determine, both the citizens and the police agencies, some good indicators would be that there are complaints about discrimination within law enforcement agencies. When you have the actual officers complaining about discrimination and racism, you know that's going to be a clue that there is possibly a problem. Because if they treat the people who work for them, if they discriminate against them, and they're racial and biased toward the people that practically live with them, you can imagine what they're going to do to the people on the street.

So don't think that if they're not

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1 treating this right, as members of the
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- 2 organization, they're going to treat the civilians
- 3 right, or the people that they serve.
- 4 Another thing is when you don't have
- 5 people of color within the ranks of the law
- 6 enforcement agencies, you're missing a lot.
- 7 Because the people who run these agencies are
- 8 basically majority white; they are white
- 9 controlled; and white run. And they have the
- 10 power of punishment and reward.
- 11 So therefore, the problem we are having
- 12 is that there are not enough African-American and
- other people of color involved in law enforcement,
- 14 so they can act as monitors of what's going on.
- 15 You have to have people within the department who
- 16 can occasionally say, hey, there's some problem
- 17 here. We need to talk about it. Who can give you
- 18 a different point of view.
- So, again, we do need to have people of
- 20 color within the ranks before we can have a good
- 21 working system.
- 22 And I'll give you an example. If a
- 23 person of color came into the office and
- complained about a white citizen -- excuse me, a
- 25 black citizen came into a police station and

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1 complained about a white officer, if there is
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- 2 nothing in that office except white supervisors
- 3 and managers, there's a chance that those managers
- 4 and supervisors will merely say, you know, I know
- 5 the guys did something wrong, but I have to think,
- I used to do that, too.
- 7 But, if a black or a person of color is
- 8 in that position he will take it a little bit more
- 9 serious. He can understand a little bit more
- 10 about racism and how he's being treated.
- 11 But, again, because you don't have that
- 12 mixture, you don't have that sensitivity, and you
- do need that sensitivity. Again, one of the
- 14 biggest problems is having officers speak out
- 15 against racism and injustices in these law
- 16 enforcement agencies. You have to support those
- 17 people who are doing it. You have to support the
- 18 people who are standing up.
- 19 You have to talk about police training.
- 20 You have to talk about race issues. You got to do
- 21 it. If it don't happen, then you won't be able to
- resolve these problems.
- Now, I kind of lost track of my time,
- 24 but what I'm going to do is I'm going to stop
- 25 here. I'm going to give you a chance -- I know at

1 the end of this session we're going to have some

- 2 questions and answers. There's a lot more
- 3 information.
- 4 Well, let me just do this while I'm
- 5 here. You know, all across the nation they've had
- 6 a concern about racial profiling and all across
- 7 the United States they've done things to help or
- 8 try to change the way law enforcement is dealing
- 9 with this issue of racial profiling.
- 10 U.S. Congressman John Conyers in March
- of this year introduced legislation designed to
- 12 restore public trust and accountability to law
- 13 enforcement agencies. And that bill is the Law
- 14 Enforcement Trust and Integrity Act of 2000.
- 15 And what you can do is you can call your
- 16 congressman and your senator and ask them to
- 17 support this bill. I won't go through all the
- 18 things that this bill contains, but it contains
- 19 some very good information that will help
- 20 alleviate these problems that's starting to
- develop in law enforcement.
- 22 Again, they're not new problems. It's
- just that people now are starting to see what's
- 24 going on, and it's starting to affect a lot more
- 25 people than it did in the past, even if you just

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1 talk about law suits, where misconduct by law
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- 2 enforcement officers, especially as it relates to
- 3 beatings and shooting of people.
- 4 It affects you because you're the ones
- 5 who are going to pay that bill if these courts
- find that law enforcement agencies were in the
- 7 wrong, or if they did something that they
- 8 shouldn't have done.
- 9 So, indirectly you're involved. You're
- 10 going to be involved. You might as well start
- doing something to change things.
- 12 Again, I know it's a lot of information
- I didn't cover, I didn't discuss, but I don't want
- 14 to take up too much time because I know there's a
- 15 lot of important people here who want to speak and
- 16 should speak. And I'm willing to listen and
- 17 answer any questions.
- Thank you very much.
- 19 (Applause.)
- 20 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you,
- 21 Officer Burks.
- 22 Official or unofficial, by design or by
- default, reasonable people have to agree that
- racial profiling exists, has had a much heavier
- 25 burden on communities that are low income, as well

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1 as communities of color.
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- 2 This effect is both personal to the
- 3 individuals and to the communities as a whole. To
- 4 help us explore these effects we'll hear from Dr.
- 5 Geraldine Washington, President of the Los Angeles
- 6 NAACP, and Mr. Thomas Saenz, who is the Los
- 7 Angeles Regional Counsel for MALDEF.
- 8 Dr. Washington.
- 9 (Applause.)
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: However you'd
- 11 like to do it. If you'd like to come up one at a
- 12 time, or both speak from there, it's up to you.
- However you'd like to do it.
- DR. WASHINGTON: Thank you very much.
- 15 As President of the Los Angeles NAACP I am pleased
- 16 to join in the discussion of such an important
- matter as the subject today suggests.
- 18 The practice of racial profiling by some
- 19 law enforcement officials in determining who is to
- 20 be pulled over while driving their car in our
- 21 state is of grave importance to the African-
- 22 Americans in my community, in my city and in my
- state. And, indeed, in the nation.
- 24 And so I thank you, Lt. Governor
- 25 Bustamante, for inviting me to speak today, and

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1 for soliciting the opinion of the NAACP on one of
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- 2 the top priorities and legislative issues for the
- 3 National NAACP, as well as my local branch. And
- 4 has been for several years.
- 5 Racial profiling is a reprehensible
- 6 practice. This action by law enforcement officers
- 7 that targets our citizens, including members of my
- 8 family, my husband, my brother, my son, my uncles,
- 9 my nephews, my neighbors, my friends, all of the
- 10 people of color who are subjected to this negative
- 11 behavior.
- 12 It's reprehensible because it suggests
- 13 that simply because of the color of our skin we
- are criminals, or we exhibit criminal behavior
- 15 most of the time. This is cruel and criminal
- 16 behavior on the part of those law enforcement
- 17 officers who are involved in the violation of our
- 18 civil rights.
- The practice of racial profiling or
- 20 driving while black does occur. I would venture
- 21 to say that it occurs more often than not. Every
- day someone is being stopped or pulled over today
- 23 simply because of the color of his or her skin.
- 24 And so it occurs in our communities all
- 25 too often. And the concern and the burden is

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1 heavy. We simply must stop this demeaning,
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- 2 prejudicial and racist practice.
- 3 And the national NAACP joins me in
- 4 saying that the issue is of paramount importance.
- 5 And we certainly want to see some solution to the
- 6 practice.
- 7 So why is there so much interest and
- 8 concern since most of this behavior, most of these
- 9 problems occur in minority communities and among
- 10 minorities.
- 11 So the question then is how does racial
- 12 profiling affect individuals in the minority
- community. Or to put it another way, what are the
- 14 effects of racial profiling on individuals within
- 15 minority communities, and what are the effects on
- 16 society as a whole.
- 17 Well, I live in a minority community.
- And I have my own observations. But let me tell
- 19 you what the people I asked had to say. And I did
- survey a number of people. I will give you the
- top 13 answers.
- 22 Answer number one: We are stopped for
- 23 petty, frivolous, minor misdemeanor infractions.
- 24 Because we are stopped often, this becomes the
- 25 beginning of the paper trail, especially for our

- 1 young men.
- 2 Answer number two: Families are
- 3 strained when these stops result in fines or jail
- 4 term time. It is difficult for families to raise
- 5 money many times, or to raise money for bail. It
- 6 becomes a family problem. And many times families
- 7 even are unable to continue to live together, or
- 8 it breaks up families. It breaks up families when
- 9 husbands are removed from the home, or when
- 10 families just simply can barely afford to pay
- 11 their rent and buy their food, and yet their loved
- ones need them to secure or raise enough money for
- them. So it is traumatic on the family.
- Number three: These unlawful stops are
- 15 demeaning. They perpetuate the myth that we, as
- 16 African-Americans, are not law abiding citizens.
- 17 Number four: We are treated with
- 18 disrespect. Officers are intimidating and rude.
- 19 It causes us to feel that we're quite not as good
- as we should be. It lowers our self respect;
- 21 makes us feel that we are trapped in a system that
- does not value us as individuals.
- Number five: These stops depict our
- 24 community as one of violent criminals. No matter
- 25 how much we tell our children that you are a good

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1 person, that you are in a good family, that the
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- 2 police, our law enforcement officers are really
- 3 here to protect and serve, they cannot relate to
- 4 that when they are treated as criminals or as
- 5 people who have no respect for the law.
- Number six: We are humiliated before
- 7 our families, before our wives, our children and
- 8 our neighbors. What does this do to an
- 9 individual's self respect, self concept? Think
- 10 about it.
- 11 Number seven: These DWB stops very
- 12 often result in a misdemeanor which becomes the
- 13 first strike for mostly African-American men. The
- 14 process continues until the third strike occurs,
- 15 and then our loved ones, our neighbors, our
- 16 relatives are removed from us. Because we know
- 17 what the three strikes law is, and the effect that
- it has on our community.
- 19 Number eight: This one occurred several
- 20 times during the conversations. Racial profiling
- 21 is called the new slavery. It is a deliberate
- 22 effort to have all African-Americans incarcerated
- or removed from the streets in our communities and
- in our cities. A strong statement.
- 25 Number nine: DWB stops create a hostile

- 1 environment among community inhabitants.
- 2 Number ten: They breed prejudice and
- 3 hate against and for law enforcement.
- 4 Number 11: They undermine the trust and
- 5 integrity of law enforcement, the courts, the
- 6 judicial system. They perpetuate mistrust,
- 7 intolerance and hate among community citizens
- 8 directed toward law enforcement.
- 9 Number 12: They diminish the respect
- 10 that we have as individuals and as communities for
- 11 the law. The result is no confidence in law and
- government and in the ability for us to have
- justice or to receive respectful treatment.
- Number 13: This one is going on now.
- 15 This is a serious -- one of the serious outcomes
- 16 of the conversation that's going on regarding
- 17 legislative action. It has currently polarized
- 18 our communities when we begin the discussion of
- 19 whether or not we can accept all or nothing.
- 20 Whether or not we will accept the fact that in
- 21 order to stop this practice that the policemen and
- 22 the police department are the only ones who can
- gather the data and who can report correctly what
- is occurring when individuals stops are made.
- 25 And then the other side of that is that

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some people feel that it is better to have

something than nothing. It is better to have some

way of interacting with law enforcement officers

who engage in this behavior, without having to

say, "Officer, may I have your name?" or without

in-your-face looking-at-your-card, your name, to

see who you are.
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Because it is a fact, according to the people with whom I spoke that when you have the need to ask an officer for his name, where he works, that, in itself, causes or can cause an officer to exhibit negative behavior, or to become very insensitive.

And those, even though they start innocently, they can escalate into behavior on the part of the officer, and on the part of the citizen, that could be very serious.

And that leads me to the one fear that I have, and that is that the more often you are stopped, the more often you are confronted by the police, or the more often you are engaged in a conversation that has something to do with a violation or a criminal action, or particularly one, the more likely you are -- and I'm kind of letting that sink in -- the more likely you are to

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become a party to a confrontation with a police
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- 2 officer. Or the more likely you are, if you are
- in our community, to end up dead, to be shot.
- 4 It just takes an involuntary movement
- for someone to get the wrong impression and think
- 6 that you are making an unwarranted or a physical
- 7 action against them.
- 8 And so, in our community, when people
- 9 are stopped often their lives are endangered much
- 10 more often because of the more contact you have,
- 11 then the more likely you are to have such a
- 12 contact.
- 13 And for that reason alone we say that
- 14 racial profiling must stop. Because it does
- 15 increase the likelihood of tragedies occurring in
- our neighborhood.
- 17 And to kind of summarize why racial
- 18 profiling must cease the very survival of our
- 19 country depends on it. We must have respect for
- 20 law and order. We must have confidence and
- 21 respect for law enforcement officers who are
- 22 putting their lives on the line every day.
- We must believe that it is possible for
- us to have justice and equality. We must believe
- 25 that when we see an officer, or when we are pulled

1 over, that the officer has a good reason to do

- 2 that. And it is not because of the color of our
- 3 skin.
- 4 If the situation continues to escalate,
- the problem then becomes one for all of us, for
- 6 you and you and you, even though you may not be in
- 7 the group of people who is often stopped. Because
- 8 what happens when there is no respect for the law?
- 9 What happens when a large number of people decide
- 10 that it doesn't really make any difference because
- 11 I am going to be targeted, or I am targeted just
- because of the color of my skin?
- 13 And so our democratic way of life is at
- 14 stake. It is important for us to realize that if
- this continues that we can then develop a
- 16 subculture of people who can and might become
- 17 guerilla warriors. And all those things are
- important because we love our country, we love our
- 19 cities, and we believe that by and large most
- 20 police officers are, and I'll say most law
- 21 enforcement officers are really concerned about
- 22 the criminal element. That they believe and take
- their oaths seriously.
- 24 And for the sake of those officers, and
- for the sake of people in my community, and for

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1 the sake of all of you who live across the State
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- 2 of California, it is extremely important that
- 3 racial profiling cease and that people understand
- 4 that this is certainly the color of my skin does
- 5 not determine what kind of treatment that I'm
- 6 going to get as a single factor.
- 7 So we are certainly hopeful that out of
- 8 this conference, or these discussions, we will
- 9 perhaps come up with some thoughts and some ideas
- so that we can continue to make America, Los
- 11 Angeles, safe for all citizens.
- 12 Thank you.
- 13 (Applause.)
- 14 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you, Dr.
- Washington.
- 16 Thomas Saenz with the Los Angeles
- 17 Regional Counsel for MALDEF.
- MR. SAENZ: Thank you, Mr. Lt. Governor.
- 19 I'm pleased to be here, as well.
- 20 It's difficult to prepare remarks about
- 21 the effects of racial profiling, because I think
- that to huge portions of our California community,
- 23 the effects are so obvious and so daily in their
- 24 impact, I think that that's indicated by Dr.
- Washington's informal survey, and I think the

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1 thoughtful and complete responses that she
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- 2 received from people who experience this kind of
- 3 activity on a daily basis.
- 4 But I would like to talk about what I
- 5 see as one of the most pernicious effects of
- 6 racial profiling. And I'd like to begin with a
- 7 story that has nothing whatsoever to do with the
- 8 police.
- 9 A few years ago I had the opportunity to
- 10 work with a task force in the justice system that
- 11 was studying a particular court system and the
- 12 possibility of racial/ethnic bias infecting what
- was going on in that judicial system.
- 14 And a committee of judges and lawyers
- 15 was putting together a survey to send out to
- 16 practitioners in this particular court system to
- 17 ask them about the possibility of racial or ethnic
- bias infecting the activities in the courtroom.
- 19 And in putting together that survey we
- 20 easily decided to ask about inappropriate remarks
- 21 related to race, inappropriate remarks related to
- 22 ethnicity. And there was unanimity also about
- asking about inappropriate remarks related to
- language.
- 25 But when one of us proposed that there

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1 be a question about inappropriate remarks related
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- 2 to immigration status the judge who was chairing
- 3 that committee raised a strong objection.
- 4 He raised the objection because in his
- 5 view much of the time immigration status was a
- 6 relevant, rational, logical concern of the court
- 7 system. And therefore it was not necessary to ask
- 8 about whether there were any inappropriate remarks
- 9 being made about defendants', litigants',
- 10 attorneys' immigration status.
- 11 Now, to his credit, after a discussion
- of about 20 minutes in length, that judge agreed
- to put the question in the survey.
- 14 And when the survey came back that
- 15 question elicited a significant number of
- 16 responses. Higher, I believe, than any other
- 17 category except language. That people saw, on a
- 18 daily basis, inappropriate remarks. Again, these
- 19 survey respondents were people familiar with the
- legal system, so they could distinguish
- 21 inappropriate remarks from appropriate remarks.
- But the survey respondents saw a
- 23 significant amount of inappropriate remarks
- related to immigration status.
- 25 And I tell you that story because I

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1 think that it illustrates, first of all, the
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- 2 reality of racial/ethnic discrimination in 21st
- 3 century California. Second, because I think that
- 4 it suggests the most pernicious effect of racial
- 5 profiling. And finally, because I think it
- 6 suggests how comprehensive the solution to racial
- 7 profiling has to be.
- 8 First of all, I think that it
- 9 illustrates the reality of racial/ethnic
- 10 discrimination in 21st century California because
- 11 people don't discriminate by identifying someone's
- race and saying, I am going to harm you because of
- 13 your race.
- 14 We have learned enough in the last 40
- 15 years that people mask their discrimination. They
- 16 mask their discrimination through the use of
- 17 proxies, whether the proxy is language,
- immigration status, or the perception that somehow
- 19 there is a correlation between race or ethnicity
- and criminality.
- 21 That is the reality. Racial/ethnic
- 22 discrimination does not come in the blatant format
- of 50 years ago. It comes in the form of I will
- 24 target you because I perceive you to be an
- 25 unlawful immigrant, a non-English speaker, I

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perceive you to be a criminal or potential
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         criminal. And I think that reality also suggests
         the most pernicious effect of racial profiling.
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                   The effects of racial profiling are
         multiple; and I think that Dr. Washington's survey
         respondents touched on all of them. There are the
         individual effects of people who are subjected to
         detentions by police that they would not be
 9
         subjected to other than because of their race or
10
         ethnicity.
11
                   And what follows from that, individuals
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And what follows from that, individuals subjected to unfair discriminatory prosecutions.

And in many cases, convictions. And if the Rampart scandal proves nothing, it at least proves that in some cases they are subjected to much more, including being shot, including being assaulted simply because of a racial profile.

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But the ripple effects of racial profiling come from the accepted wisdom that Officer Burks and Dr. Washington talked about that is associated with racial profiling.

22 That the disparate impact that we see in 23 detentions and arrests and convictions is not 24 explained by discrimination, but is instead 25 explained by greater rates of criminality in

- 1 particular races or ethnicities.
- 2 And as that accepted common wisdom
- 3 spreads and pervades, it creates the ripple
- 4 effects of racial profiling. And that, I believe,
- 5 is the most pernicious aspect of this.
- It has those effects most immediately in
- 7 the criminal justice system beyond the law
- 8 enforcement officers who may be engaging in racial
- 9 profiling.
- 10 We have recently seen a wave of studies,
- including one from a leadership conference on
- 12 civil rights, that demonstrate discriminatory
- 13 effects throughout the criminal justice system.
- 14 Not just at the point of who is detained; not just
- at the point of who is arrested; but it plays out
- 16 throughout the system.
- 17 There are discriminatory effects in
- 18 prosecutors exercising their discretion about who
- 19 to charge. There are discriminatory effects in
- 20 the way that judges and juries evaluate guilt or
- 21 innocence. There are discriminatory effects in
- how judges choose to sentence particular
- defendants.
- 24 And that all, I believe, stems, in large
- 25 part, from this accepted idea, often unstated,

often not conscious, in decision-makers in the

- 2 criminal justice system that somehow criminality
- 3 correlates with the race, with particular races or
- 4 ethnicities.
- 5 But it goes beyond the criminal justice
- 6 system in again ways that the previous speakers
- 7 have identified. Because that common wisdom that
- 8 criminality is related to particular races or
- 9 ethnicities then gets picked up by the media, for
- 10 example. By the news media in how they present
- 11 activities to the community; by the entertainment
- media in how they reflect and mirror society.
- 13 And when it is picked up by the media it
- is then transmitted to the community. And, again,
- in ways identified by the previous speakers, its
- 16 pernicious effects become even more ingrained.
- 17 Minority children perceive these images,
- 18 accept this common wisdom, internalize it. And it
- 19 can impact self image and aspirations of entire
- 20 communities.
- 21 And that is why the most pernicious
- 22 effect, in my view, of racial profiling is not
- racial profiling in its individual impacts, it's
- 24 rather profiling of a race or races. And
- including in that profile the idea, accepted, that

1 criminality is a part of the profile of particular

- 2 races.
- 3 That particular racial groups are more
- 4 predisposed to be involved in criminal activity.
- 5 Often unspoken, often subconscious, but that is
- 6 what comes from a system that permits
- 7 discriminatory effects in detentions, in arrests,
- 8 and in the other aspects of the criminal justice
- 9 system, and does nothing to end them.
- 10 And, finally, as I indicated, I think
- 11 that recognizing that as the most pernicious
- 12 effect of racial profiling suggests exactly how
- comprehensive the solution must be.
- 14 Training is important, but training
- 15 cannot, by itself, root out these accepted common
- 16 wisdoms about races and criminality.
- 17 Individual investigations of specific
- 18 individual arrests or detentions cannot root out a
- 19 common wisdom about criminality and particular
- 20 races for a number of reasons. Because of the
- 21 internalization that I talked about previously, as
- 22 well as other factors that many of you are aware
- 23 of.
- 24 Many of the people who are victimized by
- 25 racial profiling will not come forward regardless

of how much they are encouraged to do so;

- 2 regardless of how easy it is made to raise a
- 3 complaint.
- 4 They will not come forward because they
- 5 do not believe there will be a just resolution;
- 6 because they do not trust that they will not be
- 7 targeted because of the step that they took.
- 8 But beyond that, even among those who
- 9 actually take the step to challenge a particular
- 10 detention or arrest, in investigating individual
- 11 cases this accepted common wisdom can become an
- 12 excuse where individual arrests or detentions of
- 13 African-Americans or Latinos are explained away
- through the use of rational proxies.
- 15 I didn't target this individual because
- 16 of their race or ethnicity, I targeted them
- 17 because they looked like an undocumented
- immigrant. I targeted them because they fit the
- 19 drug courier profile. I targeted that youth
- 20 because he fit the gang member profile for this
- 21 community.
- 22 And in individual cases those
- 23 explanation are more likely to be accepted and
- 24 used to excuse action in that particular arrest or
- detention.

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1 Therefore, those individual
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- 2 investigations, no matter how much they are
- 3 encouraged, no matter how much they are monitored,
- 4 cannot suffice to root out that pernicious effect
- 5 of the common wisdom that criminality is related
- 6 to particular races and ethnicities.
- 7 In order to do that you have --
- 8 (End tape 1B.)
- 9 MR. SAENZ: -- pervasive solution. A
- 10 pervasive solution means data collection, data
- 11 evaluation on an aggregate level. The problem and
- its effects is aggregate because of the ripple
- 13 that I just described. To address that aggregate
- 14 problem we have to have an aggregate solution that
- 15 involves looking at discriminatory effects across
- 16 the entire field of arrests and detentions, not
- merely individual instances.
- 18 I look forward to our discussion.
- 19 (Applause.)
- 20 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Our next
- 21 speaker is a presenter on identifying and solving
- the problems of racial profiling, Michelle
- 23 Alexander, Director of the Racial Justice Project
- 24 at the ACLU.
- 25 As indicated in the program, John Crew,

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1 the National Coordinator of the ACLU Campaign
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- 2 Against Racial Profiling, was originally scheduled
- 3 to speak, but was unable to make it. He was in
- 4 Washington. And Ms. Alexander has graciously
- 5 stepped in to present in his place.
- The ACLU Campaign is a comprehensive
- 7 effort to combat racial profiling through
- 8 legislation, public education and training
- 9 reforms. Ms. Alexander is going to speak
- 10 specifically about the importance of data
- 11 collection in combatting racial profiling.
- 12 In fact, in today's Sacramento Bee, the
- 13 Sacramento Police Department has announced that
- they will be undertaking a one-year study on
- 15 exactly who gets stopped. And the Police Chief of
- 16 the Sacramento Department will be here a little
- 17 bit later to speak specifically on that and other
- issues.
- Michelle, please come forward.
- 20 (Applause.)
- 21 MS. ALEXANDER: Well, there's nothing
- 22 like being a substitute speaker and speaking right
- 23 before lunch when everyone's stomachs are
- 24 grumbling.
- 25 (Laughter.)

1	MS. ALEXANDER: I'd like to take this
2	opportunity to talk a little bit about the deal
3	that was reached between Governor Davis and
4	Senator Murray, because that alternative bill, in
5	many ways, illustrates the need for data
6	collection, and the ways in which data collection
7	is absolutely essential to any meaningful solution
8	to address the problem of racial profiling.
9	On April 27th there was a large
10	demonstration at the State Capitol, more than 1000
11	people from across the State of California got on
12	buses to go up to the State Capitol to demand
13	mandatory data collection and to support Senator
14	Kevin Murray's bill that would require all law
15	enforcement agencies in the State of California to
16	collect data regarding the race and ethnicity of
17	people who are stopped and searched by the police,
18	so that it would be possible to prove and to
19	determine and to measure the extent of racial
20	profiling by particular law enforcement agencies
21	in this state.

At that demonstration Senator Murray

announced that a deal had been cut with the

Governor, and that a bill had been agreed upon in

which racial profiling would be outlawed. It

- 1 would be banned.
- Senator Murray did not mention to the
- 3 crowd that racial profiling is already illegal.
- 4 It has long violated the U.S. Constitution. It
- 5 has been illegal for about 200 years. It's
- 6 prohibited by the Fourth Amendment to the U.S.
- 7 Constitution, the Fourteenth Amendment to the U.S.
- 8 Constitution, Title 6 of the Civil Rights Act.
- 9 It's been illegal for a very long time.
- 10 The problem has not been that racial
- 11 profiling is legal. The problem is that it's
- impossible to prove the extent of racial profiling
- or its existence at all without the collection of
- 14 data.
- 15 The other reforms that were agreed upon
- in this deal between Senator Murray and Governor
- 17 Davis come straight from the LAPD. The diversity
- training and the idea of handing out business
- 19 cards to people who are stopped come straight from
- the LAPD. The LAPD issued a press release
- 21 congratulating Senator Murray and Governor Davis
- on their agreement, noting that this will require
- 23 all law enforcement agencies to embrace a long-
- 24 standing LAPD practice.
- When this was announced to the crowd,

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that in fact Senator Murray had abandoned data

collection, and that this deal, in fact, would ban

something that was already illegal and require all

law enforcement agencies to do something that the

LAPD was already doing with respect to racial

profiling at a time when the Los Angeles Police

Department is under federal investigation for

corruption and targeting people on the basis of
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would say really outrage regarding the agreement that had been reached.

And the reasons for the outrage and the reasons for the disappointment is because of the frustration the communities of color have felt for years and years being powerless to prove complaints of discrimination.

race, there was tremendous disappointment. And I

The problem of racial profiling is nothing new. The fact that we are all gathered here today treating it as something important and worth holding a meaningful conversation about is directly traceable to the release of data in New Jersey and Maryland which proved that what people of color had been complaining about for years and years was actually true.

It's very unlikely that we would all be

1 here today if that data hadn't been released.

- When New Jersey State Police had denied for years
- 3 and years that their officers had engaged in
- 4 racial profiling, saying, no, we have good
- 5 training for our officers, our officers understand
- 6 the law, our officers would never engage in the
- 7 targeting of motorists on the basis of race.
- 8 But then when they were required by
- 9 court order to actually collect data regarding the
- 10 race and ethnicity of people who are stopped and
- 11 searched by the police, they found, to their
- 12 surprise, that although African-Americans
- 13 constituted about less than 17 percent of the
- drivers on the road, they were more than 70
- 15 percent of the drivers who were stopped and
- searched.
- 17 And although law enforcement may have
- 18 been surprised by that, it was not a surprise to
- 19 communities of color. But what it did was it
- 20 empowered them finally to be able to do something
- 21 about it.
- 22 Complaints had been made. There were
- 23 training programs within the New Jersey State
- 24 Police, but nothing changed there until data was
- 25 collected that supported the complaints of people

of color, and demonstrated that this is real, this

- 2 is not imagined.
- 3 Data collection holds a mirror up to law
- 4 enforcement agencies, and allows communities and
- 5 the department, itself, to be able to determine
- 6 what law enforcement agencies are actually doing,
- 7 as opposed to just what they say they're doing, or
- 8 what they're trying to do through training, or
- 9 whatever programs they may have.
- 10 Data collection is absolutely essential.
- 11 Because without it all you have are good
- intentions without any way of measuring whether or
- 13 not those intentions are actually being realized.
- Just last week the language for this
- 15 compromise bill was released for the first time.
- 16 As it turns out, the deal is much worse than many
- 17 people ever imagined.
- 18 Although Governor Davis and Senator
- 19 Murray had claimed that, you know, this bill would
- go beyond current law, and would prevent and
- 21 prohibit racial profiling that isn't already
- 22 covered by current law, and that it would create a
- new cause of action, a right to sue for racial
- 24 profiling, the actual language of the bill does
- not do that.

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It simply states that law enforcement
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         officers may not stop people unless there's
         individualized suspicion. That's the Fourth
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         Amendment, that's been the law for 200 years.
         There is no new legal cause of action in the bill.
         There is no new right to sue. There are no
         criminal penalties, no civil penalties. There is
         nothing new legally in this compromise bill.
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                   The compromise bill also includes
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         provisions regarding diversity training. This new
11
         bill, SB-66, for those of you who may be unaware,
         is a bill that was parked in the California
12
         Legislature for about two years.
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14
                   Senator Murray introduced SB-66 at the
         same time that he introduced the mandatory data
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16
         collection bill, which was SB-1389. He decided to
17
         park SB-66, which was a diversity training bill,
18
         for two years because he knew that if law
         enforcement, police unions, specifically, were
19
         given a choice between diversity training, which
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21
         would have no police accountability and would not
         allow communities to track or prove
2.2
         discrimination, or a choice between that and
23
         meaningful police accountability through data
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         collection, the law enforcement would flock to the
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diversity training and oppose the data collection.

- 2 And because he wanted to prevent that
- 3 from happening, and he wanted to insure that
- 4 communities would have the ability finally to be
- 5 able to track and prove discrimination, he decided
- 6 to park that bill for two years, and insure that a
- 7 data collection bill would be signed first.
- 8 And after the data collection bill would
- 9 be signed, then he would move the diversity
- 10 training bill. He wanted to insure that a data
- 11 collection bill was signed and enacted into law
- 12 first before the diversity training bill was
- moved.
- 14 Well, as it turns out, through the deal
- 15 that he reached with Governor Davis he decided to
- 16 pick up that diversity training bill, but he'd
- 17 gutted it of all of the substantive training
- 18 provisions in it. And handed over nearly
- 19 unfettered discretion to POST, which was described
- 20 earlier. And which POST has been, you know, a
- 21 staunch opponent of mandatory data collection.
- 22 Nearly unfettered discretion to determine what the
- training actually would be.
- 24 The third component of the deal that was
- 25 reached was to hand out business cards to people

1 who were stopped. As I mentioned, this aspect of

- 2 the deal came straight from the LAPD.
- 3 What Governor Davis and Senator Murray
- 4 said in support of the business card idea was
- 5 that, you know, it would empower people to be able
- 6 to make complaints. They would provide a
- 7 complaint line so that when people, if they felt
- 8 they had suffered discrimination after being
- 9 interrogated or searched or handcuffed and
- 10 humiliated, that then they would have a card, a
- 11 number they could call to register a complaint.
- 12 And, again the problem has never been
- 13 that people haven't been able to make complaints.
- 14 The problem has been that when people made
- 15 complaints it's just one person's word against a
- 16 police officer's. And in those rare instances
- 17 where police misconduct is acknowledged it's
- dismissed as an isolated incident.
- 19 And law enforcement says there's no
- 20 reason to believe that there's a pattern of
- 21 misconduct here, but, of course, there's no
- 22 evidence to prove a pattern of misconduct because
- 23 no data is collected.
- 24 Well, this business card, as it turns
- out, will contain a phone number, but there is no

1 guarantee in the legislation whatsoever that this

- 2 phone number that will be provided would be linked
- 3 to the complaint system of law enforcement
- 4 agencies. There's nothing in the bill that would
- 5 require follow-up on the complaints. That these
- 6 complaints actually be investigated or followed up
- 7 on in any way, or to be treated as a formal
- 8 complaint as required under the Penal Code.
- 9 It really, in effect, creates a
- 10 suggestion line and allows people to call up and
- 11 leave suggestions or comments in the hopes that
- 12 perhaps someone might take it seriously and follow
- up on it.
- 14 In many respects this bill does reduce
- 15 police accountability rather than increase it,
- 16 because it will make it more difficult to identify
- 17 and track complaints than it would be before.
- 18 So what we have here is really an
- 19 incredible attempt to quash data collection. To
- avoid data collection, and to offer something that
- 21 sounds good, has rhetorical appeal and is symbolic
- in nature, but won't do anything meaningful to
- 23 address the problem because it leaves communities
- 24 utterly powerless to identify discrimination when
- it exists, and to prove it.

1	Now, why is there so much opposition
2	within some police unions to collecting this data?
3	And the reality is that when data's collected and
4	it proves discrimination, changes have to be made
5	Communities are empowered to demand that change
6	occur within a department when it is obvious the
7	communities are suffering discrimination.

And therefore there is an incentive within police unions that are resistant to change to oppose data collection. Because it will empower communities to prove discrimination, to demand that change actually occur and it will also allow communities to identify particular police practices that are having a disparate impact on communities.

As I mentioned before, when the New
Jersey State Police released a study that showed,
you know, that people of color were stopped at
grossly disproportionate rates every study of
racial profiling, comprehensive study of racial
profiling that has been done to date, has shown
that people of color are stopped at grossly
disproportionate rates. And searched at grossly
disproportionate rates.

Those studies have also shown that

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contrary to popular belief, people of color are no
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 2
         more likely than whites to be carrying drugs or
         other contraband in their vehicles. But because
 3
         they are stopped and searched at grossly
         disproportionate rates, they are also arrested and
         incarcerated at grossly disproportionate rates.
                   It's what the New Jersey Attorney
         General dubbed, you know, the circular illogic of
 9
         racial profiling. Law enforcement will point to
10
         arrest rates and incarceration rates of African-
11
         Americans and Latinos as a justification for
         racial profiling, when in reality those arrest
12
         rates and incarceration rates are often a product
13
         of racial profiling.
14
                   And so it cannot be a justification by
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16
         law enforcement that it makes sense for us to
17
         target particular communities, or target
18
         particular races because they're the ones that are
         most likely to be involved in criminal activity.
19
                   Every study of racial profiling has
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         shown people of color are no more likely to be
         carrying drugs or other contraband in their
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consequences.

disproportionate rates they suffer the

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24

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vehicles, but because they're targeted at grossly

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Every study of racial profiling has also
shown that contrary to popular belief police do
not target primarily guilty people. The vast
majority of people who are stopped and searched by
law enforcement are completely innocent of any
crime whatsoever.
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But because no record is kept of

encounters between innocent people and people who

are stopped and searched and interrogated, and

then released without a ticket or citation or

warning of any kind there is no way to prove the

extent of discrimination that is actually

occurring.

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In fact, "Esquire Magazine" published an article which showed that the California Highway Patrol, its drug interdiction canine unit, in one year alone, 1997, one canine drug interdiction unit stopped nearly 34,000 people in the hopes of finding drugs. Yet less than 2 percent of them were actually carrying drugs or contraband of any kind.

Meaning that literally tens of thousands of innocent motorists were stopped, and sometimes searched, treated like criminals for no reason other than a police officer's mistaken hunch.

1 This has a tremendous toll on police/ 2 community relations, and it does, as was so 3 eloquently described by Tom Saenz and Dr. Washington, affect the perspective that people have on law enforcement, often for the rest of their life. Data collection is required in almost every other context in order to root out 9 discrimination. Data collection is required by 10 federal and state law to prevent and track 11 discrimination in employment, housing, voting rights, public contracting, education. 12 In almost every context in which we 13 might be concerned that people of color might 14 suffer discrimination, federal and state law 15 16 demand that data be collected so that it's 17 possible to identify, measure, track, prove and 18 prevent it. Why should law enforcement be exempt from this requirement? 19 I'm hoping that this Commission, which, 20 21 you know, has the kind of noble, very noble task of bringing communities together around pressing 22

include data collection.

23

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social issues, will oppose any effort to address

the problem of racial profiling that does not

1	Data collection is absolutely essential
2	to do anything about the problem. Police chiefs
3	who claim that racial profiling does not exist in
4	their department have no way of knowing whether
5	that is true without the collection of data.
6	Those that claim that diversity training
7	programs will solve the problem of racial
8	profiling have no way of determining the
9	effectiveness of that program without the
10	collection of data.
11	Victims of racial profiling who call
12	that number on the back of a business card and
13	leave a complaint will have no way of getting
14	beyond it's your word against the police
15	officer's, without the collection of data.
16	Without the collection of data we will
17	be left in the same cycle of accusations and
18	denials which has brought us to the contentious
19	point we are in today. There is no need for that.
20	Today there are more than 50 law
21	enforcement agencies in California that have
22	agreed to collect data voluntarily because they
23	recognize the critical importance of having this
24	information so they know what their officers are
25	actually doing on the street. And as a gesture of

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1 \hspace{1cm} \mbox{good faith towards communities of colors, that we} \\
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- 2 are interested in taking this problem seriously,
- 3 and we want to empower you, as well as ourselves,
- 4 to be able to address it in a meaningful way.
- 5 Even those law enforcement agencies that
- 6 have refused to collect all of the data required
- 7 under the bill have actually produced some
- 8 interesting studies that have shed light on the
- 9 nature of discriminatory police practices.
- 10 For example, the San Francisco Police
- 11 Department was ordered by its Police Commission to
- 12 begin to collect data voluntarily regardless of
- 13 whether Governor Davis signed the bill.
- 14 And then when they went away they
- decided, well, we don't really feel like
- 16 collecting all of the data that's necessary to
- 17 determine whether there was a problem, why don't
- 18 we just do a one-week study of traffic tickets and
- 19 see what that tells us.
- 20 Now, of course a one-week study of
- 21 traffic tickets is completely inadequate because
- racial profiling is not simply an issue of who
- gets ticketed.
- 24 It's an issue of who gets stopped, the
- 25 reason for the stop, and how people are treated

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after they've been stopped. Are they searched?
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- 2 Are they interrogated? Are they arrested for a
- 3 crime they didn't commit?
- 4 Without that basic information you
- 5 really have no way of knowing whether racial
- 6 profiling is a problem in your community.
- 7 But even this one-week study of traffic
- 8 tickets showed that although African-Americans
- 9 were about 10 percent of the population in San
- 10 Francisco, they received more than 50 percent of
- 11 the jaywalking tickets, and more than 50 percent
- of the tickets for driving too slowly.
- 13 So, even this limited amount of data
- 14 actually provided the San Francisco Police
- 15 Department with very useful information that it
- 16 could then use to assess what types of changes
- might need to be made in their department.
- 18 And now, I'm also pleased to say, they
- 19 have agreed to engage in a comprehensive data
- 20 collection program so that they will be able to
- 21 measure the extent of racial profiling that may be
- existing in their community.
- I'd like to end by finally saying that
- there are some people who will say that we should
- 25 just kind of settle for what we can get here.

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1 That Governor Davis has said that he would veto a
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- 2 data collection bill, and he would veto it again,
- 3 and so we should just settle for business cards or
- 4 whatever training program we might be able to get.
- 5 I think that's unacceptable. Data
- 6 collection is essential to do anything meaningful
- 7 about this problem. And Governor Davis, this
- 8 year, has made very clear that he understands that
- 9 it's a serious problem in California, and needs to
- 10 be addressed.
- 11 It is therefore critical that we come
- 12 together and demand a meaningful approach to the
- 13 problem that will empower communities to actually
- 14 do something about it, and empower departments to
- 15 be able to evaluate the extent of discrimination
- 16 that may be occurring.
- 17 Some may say we should just wait until
- we have another governor that might be more
- 19 sensitive to the concerns of communities of color
- and might be willing to stand up to police unions
- 21 that have donated hundreds of thousands of dollars
- to his campaign.
- I say no. I think we can count on this
- 24 Governor to do the right thing, and to sign a
- 25 mandatory data collection bill this year. So I

1 encourage people to oppose any effort to pass a

- bill that does not include data collection.
- This bill can be amended to include data
- 4 collection, and we can go forward from here with a
- 5 meaningful solution to this problem and get beyond
- 6 the accusations and denials that have plagued us
- 7 for too long.
- 8 Thank you.
- 9 (Applause.)
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you,
- 11 Michelle.
- 12 We're going to take about a ten-minute
- 13 break, allow the Commissioners to go right through
- those doors and to grab a little food; to come
- 15 back here for discussion.
- 16 Why don't we take a break for about ten
- minutes, 15 minutes at the most.
- 18 In the meantime, members of the audience
- 19 who are interested in having questions asked, my
- 20 staff has passed out index cards.
- Now would be the time for you to fill
- 22 those cards out and get them to the staff so that
- they can be considered in the discussion that's
- about to take place.
- 25 Thank you.

1	(Whereupon, the morning session of the
2	dialogue was adjourned, to reconvene
3	later this same day.)
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1	AFTERNOON SESSION
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3	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: The Members of
4	the Commission are going to be coming in here. I
5	think most are here, and we should, for the time's
6	sake, go ahead and move on.
7	Again, for those members of the audience
8	who are interested in submitting questions, the
9	cards have been distributed and we will be
10	receiving them up here.
11	Open discussion. To any of the
12	presenters, there clearly has been a wide range of
13	activity that's been stated. Everything from what
14	is the official training activity to a current
15	bill and what is considered to be the politics
16	around that bill. Pretty broad in terms of the
17	kinds of activities even for this particular
18	issue.
19	Just as a note, Senator Murray was
20	scheduled to be here. He was unable to leave the
21	floor of the Senate this afternoon, and so he will
22	not be able to join us this afternoon. That's too
23	bad, he could have provided more insight as a
24	counter to the presentation that was made by

Michelle Alexander. However, we'll hopefully be

1 able to get that information at another time in

- the future.
- 3 There were several things that were
- 4 suggested during the presentations. Everything
- 5 from nonuniform practices and data collection to
- 6 the impact of community colleges on 50 percent of
- 7 those that are trained. The activities of POST
- 8 and the kinds of discretionary actions that are
- 9 taken by both individuals and departments.
- 10 Things on how to like detect potential
- 11 problems, like officer complaints of racial
- discrimination could indicate a real problem in a
- 13 community. And the need for officers to feel that
- 14 they could, in fact, present those kinds of
- 15 concerns to their leadership.
- And, also why data collection, in fact,
- 17 is not mandatory or could it be done in a pilot
- form, or just exactly how imperative is data
- 19 collection to this whole process.
- 20 And then issues of how immigration and
- 21 other kinds or other forms of very onerous
- 22 language also is effected in the idea of racial
- 23 profiling which is not considered mainstream in
- the issue of racial profiling, however elicits
- some of the strongest reactions.

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And then everything from no follow up in
this particular legislation to no cause of action
and to the need for data collection as the
premiere tool in order to determine whether or not
there is a problem.
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As I was talking to a member earlier, I

said in my view this is not just a matter of how

it affects the community, and although that is a

very very important human side of this public

policy issue.

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If it's correct that 70 percent of stops are African-Americans and only 2 percent are found guilty, then it seems to me a huge waste of police resources in doing what they were doing. And maybe we could figure out a better way for police officers to ID the guilty, and spend some of that amount of time in trying to track down bad guys, instead of stopping the good guys.

And so there is an issue here of not just good public policy, but efficiencies.

Efficiencies in terms of how people run their departments; efficiencies for the taxpayers; and a much, much better activity between police departments and those communities. And actually trying to provide a better way of the police

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1 department providing the real mission for a
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- 2 community, and that is safety to the community,
- 3 and not trying to be in a bully position, or one
- 4 in which the residents don't feel that, in fact,
- 5 they are serving that community.
- So, Members, as some of you have your
- 7 forks halfway in, and for those of you who are
- 8 almost done, we are now open to all the members of
- 9 this panel, as well as anything that you might
- 10 like to raise. So I will leave it open. Yes, why
- don't you go ahead and start.
- 12 COMMISSIONER: I just wanted to hear Dr.
- 13 Robert's comments on Michelle's presentation about
- 14 data collection, because you were very much
- opposed to it. So, I'd sort of like -- or at
- least data without a purpose.
- 17 So, I wanted you to comment about that.
- DR. KLITGAARD: Well, I was very excited
- by, if I may say Michelle, if I may use your first
- 20 name, I was very excited by her presentation.
- 21 I thought, in fact I was stunned by the
- 22 quality and the lucidity and the relevance of all
- 23 the presentations here, but I'm very interested in
- the idea that data provide the basis for
- 25 transparency and accountability. That's crucial

1 for any kind of work against misuse of discretion

- 2 and misuse of power.
- 3 My point is, and I think -- and this is
- 4 my point, I would like to ask everybody, I bet you
- 5 with a half an hour of work this afternoon we
- 6 could get everybody at this table, and maybe all
- 7 of you, onto an idea about given that there are
- 8 some police forces such as Ron's and Rulette's,
- 9 that are now collecting these data, the real
- 10 question is how do we get those data in a form
- 11 that can be used by communities, that can be used
- to really create an accountability in a benefit/
- 13 cost type of framework. You know, to sort of
- 14 track the thing along.
- 15 I think that's an open question. The
- 16 data I've seen from New Jersey and Maryland, I
- 17 haven't seen what the police forces have done with
- 18 it. Michelle, maybe you can tell us, or what the
- 19 ACLU has done with it.
- 20 But I think it's one question to collect
- 21 the data, and the second and interesting question,
- 22 maybe this Commission could make a contribution on
- this now. Now that we have that data, are there
- 24 ways we can push forward the analysis and use of
- 25 that data to empower communities, and to help

- 1 police forces to do a better job.
- I think the answer has got to be yes,
- and there's got to be a way we can do better.
- 4 COMMISSIONER: That seems to have been
- 5 done in New Jersey and Maryland.
- DR. KLITGAARD: They collected the data,
- 7 but I haven't seen -- Michelle, maybe you could
- 8 help us on this, but I haven't seen the results
- 9 of, therefore because we have the data, now we
- 10 have routines of accountability set up which
- 11 enable police forces to make better choices of
- 12 resource allocation, enable them to limit
- 13 discretion more efficiently, enable people to have
- voice more effectively in the community.
- I haven't seen that part, although I
- 16 agree 100 percent with all the speakers who
- 17 emphasized those points as the objective down the
- 18 road.
- 19 MS. ALEXANDER: The New Jersey consent
- 20 decree really is a model that I encourage everyone
- 21 to look to. It's, you know, available on the
- 22 internet.
- You can check it out and see what kind
- of a model program looks like to eradicate racial
- 25 profiling. It includes data collection as an

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1 essential component.
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2	And one of the things that is key to the
3	program they have set up in New Jersey is the
4	accountability that data collection provides, in
5	the sense that the department has agreed to engage
6	in a number of reforms that include everything
7	from changing the way officers are trained,
8	changing the types of stops that they're allowed
9	to execute, changing the focus from drug
10	interdiction to traffic enforcement. Because when
11	the focus is drug interdiction then officers are
12	just using their hunches to stop people based on
13	who looks like a drug dealer, who looks like they
14	might have drugs in their car.
15	Placing an emphasis on diversity of
16	officers and all of that. But the key for data
17	collection is it allows the department to measure
18	its progress.
19	So after the first six months they then
20	came back and said, well, have the numbers
21	changed. Have the new training programs, have the
22	new provisions that have been instituted in the
23	manuals, have the changes that have been made in
24	terms of personnel, have the redirection of
25	resources actually manifested in a change in the

- 1 numbers?
- 2 Is the proportion of African-Americans
- who are being stopped going down? And during the
- first cycle there was no appreciable change.
- 5 However, there has been change now, over
- time, and the key about data collection, you're
- 7 able to measure the extent of change. And you can
- 8 evaluate whether the training programs that you're
- 9 instituting are actually working. Whether the
- 10 changes in personnel you're making is actually
- 11 having an impact. Whether a shift in resources
- makes sense. Whether a change in philosophy in
- the department is necessary.
- 14 Some departments have problems of racial
- 15 profiling because the general philosophy of the
- department is that we're engaged in a war on
- 17 drugs. And as with any war, you have to have an
- 18 enemy.
- 19 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: And casualties.
- 20 MS. ALEXANDER: And casualties. And
- 21 those enemies are often defined on the basis of
- 22 race. The data allows you to measure whether or
- 23 not the changes that you're instituting are
- 24 actually effective.
- 25 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: We, in fact,

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might even consider from what was presented here
2
       today, that we might recommend that we attempt to
3
       find think-tank organizations who do analysis of
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- this kind of data, perhaps in addition to what
- police departments do in the collection of their
- own data.

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It might be helpful to enter into some arrangement where a think tank, like maybe a RAND 8 9 or somebody else, would be able to come in and 10 obtain the information in order to be able to come 11 to some conclusions and have tremendous management in administrative experiences, and be able to 12

maybe even make some suggestions from that.

- 14 Yes.
- SPEAKER: It seems to me that data 15 collection and all that is very important in terms 16 17 of profiling, as it's been discussed in the media, in terms of police stops, police vehicular stops. 18
- 19 But, of course, we have what's been defined as racial profiling way beyond vehicular 20 2.1 stops. And it seems to me that one of the keys, was mentioned by at least two of the speakers, and 22 that is the incentive systems found within the 23 police department. 24
- Officer Burks mentioned that police 25

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officers will get rewarded for stops or arrests,
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- particularly. And that's the measure of
- 3 criminality and how much the police therefore are
- 4 succeeding in finding, quote, criminality.
- It seems to me we have to look anew at
- 6 those incentive systems. If they don't change, it
- 7 may be that the racial profiling and the vehicular
- 8 stops will get better for awhile. But in the long
- 9 run it seems to me it's not going to change.
- 10 So, I'd welcome some discussion by
- 11 particularly Dr. KLITGAARD and Officer Burks, who
- 12 raised this issue, and by the others. Because it
- 13 seems to me that they clearly identified a key in
- 14 changing police practices.
- 15 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Apparently my
- 16 staff believes that they should leave the room and
- 17 go eat. Let me tell you, staff, if you can hear
- me, you don't get a chance to eat.
- 19 (Laughter.)
- 20 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: So, stay in
- 21 here.
- 22 Any comments from the panel on this?
- 23 SPEAKER: Let me make a comment about
- the data collection. First of all, based on the
- 25 computer technology today, it was my opinion that

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1 they could and should be able to get this
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- 2 information right now.
- 3 But after listening to Ms. Alexander's
- 4 presentation I do feel that we need that data
- 5 collection component in the law, and it needs to
- 6 stay in there.
- 7 And as she said, we should absolutely
- 8 keep it in there. And not compromise with it.
- 9 I'm sold on that.
- 10 The second thing is it's going to take
- 11 more than just collecting the data. You're going
- to have to change the incentive for police
- 13 officers. You're going to have to change their
- 14 perceptions about who the criminals are. And as I
- 15 didn't get a chance to explain, and as someone
- 16 else so eloquently put it, there are other people
- 17 like you -- the media.
- The media has a big role in defining or
- 19 causing people to have a perception about who the
- criminals are, and how the police react. Because,
- 21 after all, they want to do a good job for the
- community, if nothing else, to look good. When
- they go to get raises they can get their raises
- 24 because they have those statistics to show that
- they've been making a lot of arrests.

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1 And as you said, there is a
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- 2 misconception about how this data can affect, on a
- 3 long-term basis, how we change what is happening.
- 4 And I think we do need to take a look at that.
- 5 Again, I cannot get away from Ms.
- 6 Alexander's point of making sure we collect the
- 7 data so we have some hard evidence, because that's
- 8 absolutely what they're using. They're using hard
- 9 evidence to say we're doing all right, or they
- 10 have hard evidence to say we don't need to do
- 11 this. And we need to get hard evidence to counter
- 12 that.
- 13 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Go ahead.
- 14 COMMISSIONER NAVA: Yes, I really wanted
- 15 to thank Michelle Alexander for what I felt was a
- 16 really important point of putting the entire
- discussion into its proper context.
- I was getting a little bit upset at the
- 19 beginning of the discussions because it seemed to
- 20 be well, what are the trade-offs of this, benefits
- versus, you know, problems with society.
- 22 As opposed to the fact that this is
- 23 illegal, and has been illegal for 200 years. And
- it's not what this country is about, and what it
- 25 has ever been about. And that the discussion

should really be about how do we address and get

- 2 rid of something that is illegal.
- And, you know, obviously there could be
- 4 so many parallels made about police states, and
- 5 how, you know, various police states have no
- 6 crime, and the trains running on time and all
- 7 this. But all this is important to us, as
- 8 Americans, and to the system of government that we
- 9 have here, and the individual rights of our
- 10 people.
- So, I'm glad that she said that,
- because, in fact, I believe the context of the
- conversation should be how do we get rid of this
- 14 illegal practice.
- 15 And toward that end I have really two
- 16 questions that I want to ask the speakers. One is
- 17 to the gentleman who was talking about the
- training, Chief Gary Creason, correct?
- 19 He stated that in no way in any training
- for policemen and policewomen, law enforcement
- 21 officers here in California anywhere is racial
- 22 profiling taught, is it shown to them to be a
- thing to do in any of their training.
- 24 So if that is the case, I would like to
- 25 know where do they learn to do it? How do they

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learn to do it? What guidelines are they given to
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- 2 do it? Is this just left up to their own ideas
- 3 and prejudices that they bring into their job?
- 4 They clearly do it, we all know that.
- 5 So where does it come from if they're not taught
- 6 it by your schools?
- 7 CHIEF CREASON: I don't have an exact
- 8 answer to that, Mr. Nava, but I will give you my
- 9 opinion.
- 10 I believe that young peace officers
- 11 going into law enforcement today are exposed to
- 12 senior officers that have established practices of
- 13 their own. They have prejudices, they have ways
- that they do things, they have their own targets.
- Those folks, in my opinion, the senior
- 16 officers who are not educated, are not sensitive,
- are not diverse, they are the ones who are
- 18 corrupting, if you will, our younger officers.
- 19 And I wish that I had the answer to
- 20 correct that, but I don't, unfortunately.
- 21 COMMISSIONER NAVA: So it seems to me
- 22 this is a very highly arbitrary practice. And I
- 23 might also say, since I'm involved in the media,
- 24 not only these officers are predominately white,
- as they seem to be, that they have not been

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1 exposed to Latino culture, African-American
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- 2 culture in any kind of a deep way.
- 3 Not only are they getting these
- 4 practices and these prejudices from their senior
- officers, but from tv and the movies.
- 6 CHIEF CREASON: Oh, yes, that's --
- 7 COMMISSIONER NAVA: I mean that's all
- 8 they see on tv is that all Latinos are drug
- 9 dealers. And as Cruz so wonderfully pointed out,
- 10 there's got to be an enemy in the drug war, and
- 11 well, that's clearly Latinos, I mean they're all
- 12 in -- I mean the drug lords all come from
- 13 Colombia, right?
- So, you know, I would also have to say
- 15 that from my own perspective, it seems like a much
- 16 farther reaching issue, since you know, your point
- 17 here is that these officers are simply bringing
- 18 what they have to come into with, it's a larger
- 19 societal issue, because we're also now talking
- 20 about the media and how people are portrayed in
- 21 the media. These also create the prejudices that
- these officers bring to their job.
- The other question I have, and then I'll
- 24 surrender the floor, is to Michelle Alexander. I
- 25 agree with you wholeheartedly and am now also

1 completely on board with the concept of data

- 2 gathering.
- 3 But I'd like you to address the issue of
- 4 who gathers the data. And how the data would be
- 5 gathered.
- 6 Because it seems to me that how this
- 7 data is being gathered would affect what the data
- 8 is. And so how should that happen --
- 9 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Sort of is
- there a basic template?
- MS. ALEXANDER: Well, currently there
- 12 are large and small law enforcement agencies that
- are collecting the data, and they're collecting it
- in different ways.
- 15 Some fill out, just have short little
- 16 cards where people check boxes on the cards. Some
- 17 law enforcement agencies do it through their
- 18 computerized in-car data collection systems that
- 19 are already in place in their vehicles.
- 20 So there isn't kind of one way of going
- 21 about collecting the data. One of the concerns
- 22 that is often raised, though, is there a danger to
- having law enforcement collect this data, will
- they falsify the data.
- 25 And that's a concern we've heard from

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1 community groups time and time again, that well,
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- 2 they could just cook the books essentially and,
- 3 you know, stop an African-American and check white
- 4 instead. And that has happened in some places.
- 5 You know, you may be aware that in New
- 6 Jersey there were officers indicted for falsifying
- 7 the data, and stopping African-Americans and
- 8 checking white, and that sort of thing.
- 9 So that kind of conduct has happened.
- 10 Yet, even in those instances where data has been
- 11 tampered with, we still see very compelling
- 12 evidence of racial discrimination and we still do
- 13 get information that's useful to identify the
- 14 particular practices and departments that need to
- change.
- 16 So the risk that there may be some bad
- 17 apples that, you know, would falsify the data, I
- don't think is, standing alone, a reason not to
- 19 collect any data whatsoever.
- 20 Other people argue, well, maybe it would
- 21 make sense to put data collection in someone
- 22 else's hands, you know. Why don't the ACLU
- 23 collect data. Or why doesn't some other
- organization try to keep track of this.
- 25 And the reality is that it's impossible

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1 for any outside organization to monitor the extent
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- 2 of racial discrimination that's occurring. This
- 3 information has to be collected by law
- 4 enforcement.
- 5 And we set up a hotline for people to
- 6 call if they believe they've been stopped or
- 7 targeted on the basis of race. And within the
- 8 first three minutes of the hotline's operation we
- 9 received more than 100 calls and our system
- 10 crashed.
- 11 We've received thousands of calls since
- 12 then. But there is no way for us to determine,
- 13 even based on the amount of complaints we receive,
- 14 the extent of discrimination that's occurring in
- 15 particular communities.
- 16 Whether people call often has more to do
- 17 with whether the hotline, you know, they happen to
- 18 hear about it, it was reported in the newspaper or
- 19 where it was distributed. It doesn't tell us
- about who was actually being stopped, as compared
- 21 to other racial groups within a particular
- 22 community.
- So it really has to be done by law
- enforcement.
- 25 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Everybody can

just sort of jump in when they have something.

- 2 SPEAKER: I'd just like to make a very
- 3 brief comment. First of all, on the question of
- 4 the illegality, as a point of fact the illegality
- 5 on this one is not so clear.
- 6 We may have to change the law. Let me
- quote from Randall Kennedy, who's a professor of
- 8 law at Harvard University, who writes that --
- 9 talks about the United States v. Weaver, in which
- 10 the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Eighth Circuit
- 11 upheld the constitutionality of a particular
- officer's actions of using racial information.
- 13 The court declared: Large groups of our
- 14 citizens should not be regarded by law enforcement
- 15 officers as presumptively criminal based upon
- 16 their race.
- The court went on to say, however, that,
- quote, "facts are not to be ignored simply because
- 19 they may be unpleasant." According to the court
- 20 the circumstances were such that it made sense for
- 21 the officer to regard blackness when considered in
- 22 conjunction with other factors, as a signal that
- 23 could be legitimately relied upon in a decision to
- approach, and ultimately to detain the suspect.
- This was the Eighth Court.

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Then there were other courts that had
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         followed suit with this. For example, decisions
         about screening at borders, and screening at
 3
         airports, that they argued the constitution,
         despite what Michelle said, although I'm not
         saying I disagree with her, the constitution does
         not prohibit police from routinely taking race
         into account when they decide whom to stop and
 9
         question as long as they do so for purposes of
10
         bona fide law enforcement, not racial harassment.
11
         And as long as race is one of several factors that
         they consider.
12
                   So the legality of this question is an
13
         issue, is a policy issue you consider. Should
14
         there be a law that bans this is a question that's
15
16
         not so clear, at least the way the courts are
17
         interpreting the constitution. That's point one.
18
                   Point two is if we collect information,
         we know this from many other areas of our life,
19
20
         and Michelle mentioned the use of housing, voting,
2.1
         other areas where we do collect information, we
         know that that's a first step, not a final step,
22
         toward changing institutional behavior.
23
                   We have to link the information up to
2.4
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         accountability systems and to incentive systems so
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1 that the people in those bureaucracies don't use
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- 2 the folk wisdom that they developed not through
- 3 training programs, but through their own
- 4 experience and culture within the organization, to
- 5 use race or proxies for race in ways that we don't
- 6 want them to do so.
- 7 So that's the reason I was talking about
- 8 the benefit/cost tradeoff is, because we have to
- 9 understand how these institutions work so that we
- 10 can cleverly go in and try to change the
- 11 calculations of benefits and costs, so that the
- 12 reforms are more long lasting.
- 13 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Officer Burks.
- 14 OFFICER BURKS: Okay, I want to talk
- 15 about two things. With this data collection, I
- 16 think again it's important. I think one of the
- 17 ways we can handle the issues raised by data
- 18 collection is we can have law enforcement officers
- 19 to collect the data, which we're going to have to
- do, as Michelle said.
- 21 However, what we can have as a backup
- 22 system or a check system is to have a random --
- independent agency do a random sampling. For
- 24 example, if a person stopped Robert Burks and said
- that Robert Burks was a white guy, simply this

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1 independent agency would call Robert Burks and
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- 2 say, I'm doing a survey, I want to know -- explain
- 3 why they're doing it --
- 4 (End tape 2A.)
- 5 OFFICER BURKS: -- my race is. I'll
- 6 tell him what my race is. If we find that
- 7 officers are falsifying this type of information,
- 8 then we're going to the disciplinary part of
- 9 dealing with it.
- 10 That's how we can do it and still let
- 11 law enforcement collect the data. So we have a
- way of checking this information by a random
- 13 sampling.
- 14 Another thing, one of the issues that
- 15 was raised was about the academy training, what is
- 16 taught in the academy as opposed to what the field
- officers train the new officers.
- 18 Now, what I haven't heard and what we
- 19 may have to take a look at is having POST
- 20 Certification take a look at the training officers
- for law enforcement. I do know, from personal
- 22 experiences, that some training officers will tell
- you, this is what you learned in the academy, but
- this is the way we do it out in the field, so
- 25 forget about what you learned in the academy and

do it our way. That is a problem. And I think

- 2 POST has to address that.
- In the Highway Patrol, when I first came
- on, we had a problem in the area that I was
- 5 assigned to with not having African-Americans
- 6 being training officers.
- We went to management and told them that
- 8 we were qualified to do the training, why weren't
- 9 we doing the training. And because of that makeup
- 10 of the Los Angeles area, which dumps most of their
- 11 minority officers, we were able to get the
- management people who were of minority background
- to put us into the training and have us as field
- 14 training officers.
- 15 Again, that helped because we could now
- 16 train young officers coming into the department
- 17 not to be racist, not to do things that were
- inappropriate to the people of color.
- 19 CHIEF CREASON: Lt. Governor, if I may,
- the California Commission on POST has, for
- 21 approximately the last year, been studying the
- 22 effects of basic academy training versus field
- training.
- They are in the process of bringing
- 25 those two separate groups of training on line with

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each other, and actually taking the field training
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- officers, educating them with these workbooks, and
- 3 causing field training officers to reinforce what
- 4 the students are taught in the academies in the
- 5 field training program.
- 6 So that is in process, which I'm very
- 7 happy to see. Because, oftentimes, what you
- 8 addressed, Officer Burks, is that many new
- 9 officers were told to ignore what they learned in
- 10 the academy and do it our way. And that's
- 11 inappropriate.
- 12 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Reverend
- 13 Jackson.
- 14 REVEREND JACKSON: Yes. Along with
- 15 training individuals in the academy and also
- 16 through the POST training, and following up
- 17 individuals on the street, let me pose this to
- 18 you.
- Why aren't individuals psychologically
- screened prior to coming onto any department to
- 21 see what type of diversity conditioning they
- 22 already have, or preconceived notions they have?
- I believe too often we find that
- officers come from across the nation, and they
- 25 have no idea what diversity truly is. They have

1 what we call preconceived notions of what law

- 2 enforcement should be.
- 3 So how do you instill diversity into an
- 4 individual that has no conception of diversity to
- 5 begin with, or preconceived notion of diversity?
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Who do you want
 - 7 to direct that to?
 - 8 REVERENCE JACKSON: To the Chief from
- 9 POST.
- 10 CHIEF CREASON: Thank you very much.
- 11 The first part of your question was psychological
- 12 examinations. It is a state law that every peace
- officer, as part of their hiring process, must
- 14 pass a psychological examination.
- I honestly don't know, and perhaps my
- guess is that they are not tested in diversity.
- But they are tested for psychological stability.
- 18 They are looked at as into areas where they might
- 19 be too aggressive, they might not be aggressive
- 20 enough. And each agency has the capability of
- 21 setting the parameters under which an officer is
- hired, regarding the psychological test.
- I don't know, not being a psychologist
- or psychiatrist, myself, I don't know if it's
- possible to test diversity. I imagine it probably

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is. But I don't know.
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- 2 REVEREND JACKSON: I don't think it
- 3 would be necessary to test someone on that
- 4 diversity, but just to look at their background.
- 5 For example, if an individual came out
- 6 of --
- 7 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Easy now.
- 8 (Laughter.)
- 9 REVEREND JACKSON: Let's say he came out
- 10 of Idaho, for example, and never set foot out of
- the State of Idaho, out of this little pocket.
- 12 How would you expect him then to come
- into let's say, for example, Los Angeles or San
- 14 Francisco, and have a diverse attitude?
- 15 OFFICER BURKS: Let me answer that
- 16 question. I'd love to answer that question
- 17 because I've had co-workers and one particular co-
- 18 worker who had told me of a situation where a
- 19 cadet in the California Highway Patrol
- 20 specifically said, that if they were assigned to
- 21 work East L.A., a Mexican area, they would not
- 22 work it.
- 23 I'm sure that same person had the same
- 24 attitude about South L.A., which is predominately
- 25 African-American.

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1 And the thing is, law enforcement
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- 2 agencies do not, absolutely do not do any
- 3 screening when it comes to diversity. And the
- 4 reason I know that is because of the attitude that
- 5 the officers have in the field.
- Now, you can't have -- and this person
- 7 is still working, and they've moved up through the
- 8 ranks, as far as I know. And imagine that type of
- 9 person reaching the rank of captain or higher in a
- 10 department. You can imagine what kind of impact
- 11 that person can have and will have on the
- 12 department.
- 13 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Okay, we're
- going to have to cut off this part of the open
- 15 discussion to get the next panel in. But we will
- 16 reopen this discussion after the next panel.
- 17 But let me go to Rabbi Bloom for the
- 18 last question.
- 19 COMMISSIONER BLOOM: As a person who is
- 20 completely ignorant of any of these issues of data
- 21 collection, I just wanted to give you a comment,
- 22 if I may.
- 23 I'm learning -- the learning curve is
- 24 great here for me. I see the issue of the data
- 25 collection as sort of the tip of the iceberg.

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Because I understand it's a policy, legislative
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- issue, political issue, it makes sense.
- But the real issue, as I'm listening to
- 4 everybody, is the education issue. And what I'm
- 5 hearing is that there really isn't any consensus
- 6 about to what extent there is a significant
- 7 emphasis on diversity training, cultural training.
- 8 It's an uphill battle, that's what I'm hearing.
- 9 And I think if there's anything this
- 10 Commission can do in a constructive way, besides
- 11 advocating data collection, is to address how
- 12 police officers are trained and to set, as a
- model, the kind of values that we, as Americans,
- 14 should cherish, that these officers have to
- embrace.
- 16 It's not a psychological issue. The
- 17 Rorschach test has nothing to do with moral
- 18 issues. These are moral issues. These are not
- 19 MMPI issues. These are the kind of human beings
- and what they value and what their fears are.
- 21 And I just think that since I don't know
- 22 anything about what police training is, I'd like
- 23 to advocate that police training should consist,
- 24 besides protecting themselves, the officers have
- 25 to learn how to protect themselves and protect the

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1 public, but they have to learn how to live in a
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- 2 world as public servants, because that's what they
- are, where that diversity piece is not just a 20
- 4 percent, it's a 50 percent part of what they do.
- 5 And what I hear is that it's not even 20
- 6 percent; it's still a struggle on that issue,
- 7 which is sad to hear. But I hope that we can make
- 8 progress on that.
- 9 Thank you.
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Dean Kay, you
- 11 had a quick question?
- 12 COMMISSIONER KAY: I just wanted to
- comment on this question of psychology and
- 14 diversity training.
- 15 One of our faculty members, Professor
- 16 Linda Krieger, published an article a couple of
- 17 years ago in the Stanford Law Review called, "The
- Content of Our Categories, " in which she uses
- 19 psychological theory to show that the way the
- 20 courts have been defining discrimination a an act
- 21 of intentional desire to harm someone because of
- 22 their race is not at all consistent with the way
- people think.
- 24 People learn to think in categories.
- 25 And if these categories are based on cultural

1 understandings that people of color are more

- 2 likely to be criminal than others, then the police
- 3 officer in the field will have that automatic
- 4 reaction.
- 5 And even if that person is a person of
- 6 the utmost good will, to eradicate those
- 7 categories requires enormous effort.
- 8 First of all, it requires acknowledging
- 9 that you are unconsciously using those categories.
- 10 And this is where, it seems to me, that data
- 11 collection becomes important, even before you ask
- 12 about what you can use the data for in order to
- 13 correct the system.
- 14 It becomes important because it forces
- 15 the unit to realize that they have, in fact, been
- 16 doing something that they would consciously like
- to deny that they have done.
- So it puts everybody on a level where
- 19 you can't deny this anymore. You have to confront
- 20 it. And then you have to say, all right, what can
- 21 we do to train people so that we can overcome
- these kinds of ingrained biases.
- 23 And I'd be happy, Lt. Governor, to
- 24 provide a copy of that article. I think it would
- 25 be something that the Commission Members would

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find very useful.
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- 2 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- 3 We'll end this particular session. Members of the
- 4 panel, thank you so much.
- 5 (Applause.)
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: While our next
- 7 panel is coming up, I'd like to just say thank you
- 8 to Pacific Bell for providing for the lunch.
- 9 Staff, do we have any additional food
- 10 left over? So if there's anybody in the audience
- 11 who hasn't eaten and they'd like to grab some
- food, if you didn't get a chance to eat, please
- feel free to go and grab a little something.
- 14 There's some pretty good chow back there.
- 15 I'd like to introduce the members of
- 16 this next panel as they're coming up and starting
- 17 to sit in their places.
- 18 Rulette Armstead, the Assistant Chief of
- 19 Police for the City of San Diego. The highest
- 20 ranking African-American female police officer in
- the State of California.
- 22 San Diego Police Department has gained
- 23 national recognition for their program of
- 24 neighborhood policing.
- 25 Ronald Davis, a Captain with the Oakland

1 Police Department, and a Regional Vice President

- of the National Organization of Black Law
- 3 Enforcement Executives.
- 4 He has worked with the NAACP and NOBLE
- 5 to develop a program called "The Law and You."
- 6 Commissioner Spike Helmick, appointed as
- 7 the Chief Executive Officer of the Highway Patrol
- 8 on November 1, 1995, by Governor Wilson, and
- 9 reappointed Commissioner in 1999 by Governor
- 10 Davis.
- 11 Last year the Governor mandated data
- 12 collection for traffic stops by the California
- 13 Highway Patrol. Now the CHP is also providing
- 14 assistance to local agencies who are seeking to
- voluntarily collect data.
- 16 Sunny Lee, Program Manager for the Tools
- 17 for Tolerance for Law Enforcement Program at the
- 18 Simon Wiesenthal Center Museum of Tolerance.
- 19 Arthur Venegas, Jr., the Chief of Police
- 20 for the City of Sacramento, who is also now
- 21 implementing a voluntary data collection program
- within the City, and formerly a Fresno boy.
- 23 And we also have again Dr. Washington
- with the NAACP.
- Why don't we go ahead and start with

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first, with Rulette Armstead. Welcome.
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- 2 (Applause.)
- 3 ASSISTANT CHIEF ARMSTEAD: On June 6,
- 4 1981, two San Diego Police Officers stopped a
- 5 group of young black men on Imperial Avenue. Now
- 6 there are really varying accounts of what occurred
- 7 that day during that stop. Some people say that
- 8 the young black man that was driving was very
- 9 arrogant and that he refused to identify himself
- 10 to the San Diego Police Officer that questioned
- 11 him.
- 12 Other accounts say that the police
- officers hurled racial slurs at the young black
- 14 man and that they used excessive force. Others
- 15 indicate that this was a driving-while-black
- issue, that the young black men really were not
- 17 doing anything wrong; that they had not violated
- any traffic laws; and that they, in fact, were
- 19 stopped because they were black.
- 20 And the final analysis, what happened
- 21 during the stop is that two police officers were
- shot, one was killed, one was permanently
- paralyzed, and a ride-along was shot.
- 24 Ultimately the young black man that was
- 25 questioned by the police was acquitted of all

1 charges. That young black man was Sagan Penn

- 2 (phonetic).
- 3 What happened in the Sagan Penn
- 4 situation actually changed the course and the
- 5 history of the San Diego Police Department. There
- 6 was a lot of hurt, there was a lot of anger, there
- 7 was a lot of frustration after that trial.
- 8 But the San Diego Police Department
- 9 viewed this as a wake-up call. And what it did is
- 10 that it went about the business of trying to get
- 11 closer to the community.
- 12 Prior to that time what we did is we
- 13 actually went out and told the community what we
- 14 were going to do for them. We asked for very
- 15 little input.
- 16 What occurred is that the police
- 17 department made a conscious and deliberate effort
- 18 to actually build bridges. We began a
- 19 comprehensive training program called BASE,
- 20 Building Advanced Skills for Effective Policing.
- 21 There was a component that talked about
- 22 verbal judo, how to actually talk with people to
- gain their compliance. How to be persuasive in
- 24 your manner of speech, so that force would not be
- used.

1	We had more cultural awareness training
2	that was actually put into the curriculum at the
3	police academy. We had more sensitivity training
4	and there was a massive effort again to get more
5	closer to the community.
6	Now, I personally believe that there are
7	four major concepts that the San Diego Police
8	Department has employed since 1981 to improve our
9	relations with the community that we serve.
10	I think one is internal management. Now
11	we recently had a new police chief selected; and
12	that police chief has actually established his
13	values for the police department. He has stated
14	on several occasions that he will give incentives
15	for individuals that he hires who are bilingual,
16	who demonstrate in their screening that they
17	understand various cultures, that they understand
18	and believe in diversity, and that they will, in
19	fact, practice diversity in their everyday
20	contacts.

He has indicated that he wants stringent background checks. We do psychological testing at the San Diego Police Department. We just hired a new psychologist, Dr. Blum, and Dr. Blum is trained to actually insure that we're not

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screening out people of color. Because there is a
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- 2 contention, and he agrees, that some of the
- 3 psychological tests actually are biased against
- 4 officers of color.
- 5 What the Chief has also done is he has
- 6 established an advisory board. And that advisory
- 7 board actually has given him a lot of information
- 8 in terms of collecting data for the driving-while-
- 9 black-and-brown issue.
- 10 The prior police chief, Chief Jerry
- 11 Sanders, was actually kind of put on the spot one
- day in front of the media, and they said, well,
- 13 what are you going to do about racial profiling.
- And he says, well, we'll voluntarily do it. And
- as a result of that, Chief Bertolano (phonetic),
- our current chief, sort of inherited the agreement
- that we would, in fact, collect data.
- 18 So that's what we're doing. We actually
- began the data collection on April 1st.
- Now, the problem that we're having is
- 21 we're not -- we don't know what we're going to do
- with that data once we collect it. How are we
- going to interpret it. We would like to have a
- 24 report of some sort out by the end of July.
- 25 Fortunately I've met Mr. KLITGAARD and

1 Mr. Saito here today and they've indicated that

- 2 they'd be willing to assist us at the Police
- 3 Department in terms of working along the lines of
- 4 trying to figure out how we can interpret that
- 5 data.
- Again, we did establish an advisory
- 7 board that gave us a lot of input and terms of
- 8 what types of things we should be looking for,
- 9 what types of information we should gather when we
- 10 collected the data, what they would like to see
- 11 happen with the data.
- So we have a working group of
- individuals that have, in fact, given us a lot of
- information, but again, we need someone from
- 15 academia to assist us in putting it together in
- 16 some order that is meaningful so that we can make
- 17 meaningful choices and meaningful decisions at the
- 18 San Diego Police Department in terms of what that
- 19 data actually means.
- The Chief has also instituted surveys.
- 21 Every year a survey at the Police Department is
- done. The latest survey that came out a couple
- 23 months ago says that there is a 93 percent
- 24 satisfaction rate overall in the San Diego
- 25 community. And that sort of cuts across all

1 racial lines. This is a general survey that is

- 2 conducted.
- 3 We've also restructured the entire
- 4 police department to bring better service to each
- 5 area command. Our lieutenants have 24-hour
- 6 responsibility.
- 7 We've restructured our juvenile service
- 8 teams because we know that the juvenile population
- 9 is going to increase in the next few years and we
- 10 also know that the crime rate prediction is that
- 11 juvenile crime will rise in the next few years.
- So we've done a lot of work in terms of enhancing
- our juvenile service teams.
- 14 The next section that I think we've done
- 15 a lot of work in is department and community
- 16 training. Prior to getting the current job that I
- 17 have now, I was tasked with actually putting
- 18 community oriented policing into the curriculum at
- 19 the San Diego Police Regional Academy.
- That was a very very difficult task. It
- 21 took us two years. That meant that every single
- 22 course had to be changed. All of the instructors
- had to be trained. All of the agendas had to be
- 24 updated. But we finally got there, and we're
- 25 proud to announce that now community oriented

1 policing transcends the academy training

- 2 curriculum.
- 3 We also have expanded and extended our
- 4 cultural awareness training at the academy. Our
- 5 aim is to have officers know how to problem solve
- 6 and how to interact with the people in general
- 7 when they leave the academy.
- 8 There have been concerns expressed that
- 9 our citizens academy is much too long, a lot of
- 10 people would like to, in fact, go to the mini-
- 11 citizens academy and find out what we do and how
- we do it on a daily basis.
- 13 So what we're doing now is we're in the
- 14 process of actually shortening that. We had it so
- 15 that people had to attend classes like for six
- 16 months. We're trying to get that down to two
- months.
- We've recently purchased bean bags and
- 19 tasers for every single police officer and police
- 20 car that we have in our fleet at the San Diego
- 21 Police Department. And this, of course, was as a
- 22 result of a couple of controversial shootings that
- 23 we had, and from urging from the community to do
- 24 something so that we may not have to use lethal
- 25 force.

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1
                   We've also printed rights and
 2
         responsibilities cards. And on those cards we
         actually indicate what are the rights and
 3
         responsibilities of citizens when they get stopped
         by police officers. What are the rights and
         responsibilities of police officers when they stop
         a citizen.
                   We actually do discussions when we
 9
         present this information. And we discuss
10
         reactions. What happens when a police officer
11
         walks up to a car. If you've ever been stopped by
         a police officer usually the first thing that they
12
         say is may I see your drivers license.
13
                   Well, the citizen really doesn't want to
14
         hear that, the citizen wants to know what did I
15
         get stopped for. So, why ask for the drivers
16
17
         license when you should go up and probably explain
18
         the reason for the stop.
19
                   So, those are the types of things that
         we talk about in that session when we talk about
20
21
         rights and responsibilities.
                   The third area, increased participation
2.2
         and shared decision-making between the police
23
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24

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department and the community. Again, because of

the two recent shootings that we had, we actually

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1 assembled a task force of 70 people from
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- 2 throughout San Diego. Various cultures, various
- 3 backgrounds.
- 4 We have actually come up with ten
- 5 different committees whereby people from
- 6 throughout San Diego will be a part of those
- 7 committees, and we will tear the use of force
- 8 policy apart and try to make changes.
- 9 Part of that policy will also include
- 10 our pursuit policy at the San Diego Police
- 11 Department. Community and media responsibilities,
- 12 as it relates to inside and outside of the police
- 13 department. We're also going to be talking about
- 14 various mental health and homeless issues, and how
- 15 we interact with the mental health patients when
- we encounter them in field situations.
- Our purpose is to review and make
- recommendations for change to the department's use
- 19 of force policy, and we hope that the results will
- 20 benefit citizens, officers and enhanced community
- 21 problem solving, and safety for citizens and
- 22 officers.
- The fourth and final concept is
- 24 dialogue. We've just finished a series of
- community forums. We've held forums throughout

1 San Diego and all of the communities and all of

- 2 the neighborhoods. We've talked about topics that
- 3 people in the community had an interest in. We
- 4 allowed them to actually set the agenda.
- 5 Those topics have included use of force,
- 6 hiring and recruiting practices, academy training
- 7 and field training, traffic issues, police/
- 8 citizens review board, and whether or not that
- 9 board should have subpoena power and investigatory
- 10 power.
- 11 We've established advisory boards at all
- of our area commands. Each captain has an
- advisory board made up of people in that
- 14 particular community.
- 15 We've also established advisory boards
- 16 fore the Chief. The Chief has a gay and lesbian
- 17 advisory board, African-American advisory board,
- an Hispanic advisory board, Asian advisory board.
- 19 So we're trying to get as much input from the
- 20 community as we can.
- Now, in all of this our aim is to build
- 22 trust and to build confidence between the police
- and between the community. What we want to do is
- 24 we want to try to eliminate some of that fear; we
- 25 want to try to eliminate some of that distrust; we

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want to build partnerships; and overall, we want
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- 2 San Diego to be a much better community.
- 3 So I invite any ideas that you may have
- 4 to assist us. I really appreciate Mr. KLITGAARD's
- offer to assist us with the racial profiling
- 6 situation, and yours, also, Dr. Saito.
- 7 And with that, I'll conclude my
- 8 presentation. Thank you.
- 9 (Applause.)
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you. In
- 11 order to accommodate any flight schedule, ask
- 12 Arturo Venegas, Jr., the Chief of Police of the
- 13 City of Sacramento to be next.
- 14 (Applause.)
- 15 CHIEF VENEGAS: My apology for having to
- leave a little bit early, no disrespect, but I
- 17 have a son that's graduating from high school, and
- I have to get back for his ceremony tonight, as
- 19 I'm sure you understand. I would never forgive
- 20 myself, and neither would his mother forgive me if
- I -- I'm sure he would.
- Lt. Governor, thank you for bringing to
- the stage of public discussion and debate this
- 24 very important topic. And, really what I believe
- to be, the creation of a desired future for us,

the people of a great state, working, playing and

- 2 really enjoying in harmony each other as one
- 3 California.
- 4 Let me say that racial profiling, the
- 5 discussion allows us really to discuss something
- 6 else. Profiling is a symptom. It's a symptom of
- 7 a greater problem that we keep biting around the
- 8 edges. And maybe that is what we have to do, is
- 9 bite around the edge.
- 10 And it's the differences of race,
- 11 religion, lifestyle, disability or other
- 12 conditions that makes us different, and in the
- eyes of someone else, less than equal.
- 14 The Sacramento Police Department does
- not have a policy of racial or bias profiling.
- 16 Nor does it condone a law enforcement practice of
- 17 racial or bias profiling by any law enforcement
- 18 agency or individual acting under the color of
- 19 law. That would violate the civil rights of any
- 20 individual.
- Our definition, and there is some real
- 22 differences on the definition of racial profiling,
- is the routine use of race as a negative signal
- that would cause a police officer to act or react
- with suspicion.

Let me share with you the history of the

Sacramento Police Department as it comes to our

data collection project. And let me begin with a

correction. Albeit, there was an article in The

Bee yesterday talking about our project. Actually

we'd been in the design of this project for quite

some time.

In late February as part of a major

accountability system I presented to our city

council a number of initiatives that would move

forward the agency in our mission which is to work

in partnership with the community, to protect life

and property, and to solve neighborhood problems

so as to enhance the quality of life of our

citizens.

And at that time it was my personal

belief that if any segment of my community

believed that they were not receiving a

professional, unbiased level of law enforcement

service, that it was incumbent upon us to insure

that we removed whatever biases or obstacles exist

to that delivery of professional unbiased service.

At the direction of the city council at

that time, in late February, they did ask us to do

some work. Because one of the items that I

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proposed at the time, and I sensed some debate

take place here today, I did not want to engage in

the collection of information for the sake of the

collection of information. And the collection of

raw data without a discussion of some key public

policy would be a no-win situation for everybody.
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And so at that time I requested of the council the authority to hire an agency outside of the City of Sacramento to do the analysis of the information that we were going to collect.

I did not want anyone in the community, or worse, the members of the department, to be finger-pointing about the outcomes of that information.

The council agreed and they asked us to go out and do good things. To do some outreach with the community; do outreach with the rank-and-file; to take a look at the data collection elements. Because the form that we had proposed had about 20 elements actually, more than what was being proposed by the American Civil Liberties Union in their project.

I was happy when the American Civil

Liberties Union and MALDEF were present in support

of our collection project at that time, agreed to

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covered.

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1 participate in the outreach to the community.
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- At that time we then went out and

 conducted approximately eight community meetings

 on our own. The NAACP, the American Civil

 Liberties Union and other community-based

 organizations as well, conducted forums in

 Sacramento, and my staff was present to receive

 input on the elements that we were going to be
- What was really good, as the Chief, was 10 11 my meetings with my staff. I had asked Hubert Williams to join me from the Police Foundation in 12 this effort. And in our meetings with the rank-13 and-file, not a single negative statement was made 14 about data collection. Quite the opposite, they 15 16 wanted to participate. They wanted to be, if you 17 will, active participants because they believed 18 that if anybody was doing that, they wanted to exorcise that person from the organization. 19

20 As you folks know, SB-78 was vetoed by
21 the Governor. He selected, for his own reasons,
22 the California Highway Patrol, the City of
23 Sacramento, and the City of Los Angeles, and he
24 directed the CHP, but he asked Sacramento and L.A.
25 to voluntarily collect the data.

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1 Now, why, as I understand this,
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- Sacramento is the capitol and L.A. is the largest
- 3 city. Now he didn't select the capitol county or
- 4 the largest county in the state, but regardless,
- 5 in our community we decided to do it, although
- 6 L.A. chose not to.
- We were disappointed, and I think
- 8 Michelle and the folks in Sacramento, that day
- 9 when he announced that -- Kevin Murray and the
- 10 Governor had announced. There was real enthusiasm
- across the state that the legislation was going to
- be passed. We hope that it occurs in time.
- 13 Let me suggest to you that as part of
- 14 the analysis what is important in the discussion
- are the public policies that we have put in place
- as part of community policing.
- 17 A recognition that in communities across
- this country, especially large urban cities, we do
- 19 have neighborhoods in crisis. And whether we want
- 20 to acknowledge it or not, we have a large number
- of our people of color that are crying for relief
- 22 to victimization of violent crime and other crime.
- 23 And somehow the analysis needs to have
- the proper discussion about what are the outcomes
- of some of the implementation that has taken

- 1 place.
- I do also believe that accountability is
- 3 the key. I am known as just one heck of a hard-
- 4 nosed guy. I'm not afraid to fire people. And my
- 5 people know that if they falsify the information
- 6 they're going to have to answer to me. That's got
- 7 to be the key.
- Now, if I may respectfully, Reverend, to
- 9 your point about the individual from Idaho. You
- 10 must also recognize that we have a lot of good
- 11 people, and that they don't go out there and do
- things intentionally.
- 13 And unfortunately, having been the
- 14 victim of a reverse discrimination lawsuit, even
- 15 the individual who may not necessarily be worldly
- 16 on Los Angeles or Sacramento, if he or she happens
- 17 to be from Idaho, they have to be afforded an
- 18 opportunity to participate.
- 19 And I think that's the key. It's how do
- 20 we provide professional unbiased service. We are
- 21 very happy to set the tone, what I believe is, for
- the country, with the help of ACLU, MALDEF, NAACP
- and our community. And our results will be
- 24 public. And we look forward to sharing those with
- you in the future.

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1 Thank you, Lt. Governor.
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- 2 (Applause.)
- 3 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you,
- 4 Chief. And just to go along with the last
- 5 statement you made, I hired a press secretary from
- 6 Kansas City, and he's still a Chicano.
- 7 (Laughter.)
- 8 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: It was hard for
- 9 me to believe that there were any Latinos there,
- 10 but apparently there is. You like that one, huh?
- 11 Next we'd like to ask CHP Commissioner
- 12 Spike Helmick to come up, and to give us a
- 13 thorough statewide rendition of exactly what the
- 14 CHP is doing.
- 15 (Applause.)
- 16 COMMISSIONER HELMICK: Thank you very
- much, Governor, Members.
- 18 I appreciate having the opportunity to
- 19 be here because quite frankly I've heard some
- things that obviously possibly do not concur with.
- 21 I've heard some statements earlier this morning
- 22 which I know to be factually incorrect.
- 23 But as quick as I say that, I'm very
- 24 excited about being here, because this is a whole
- 25 topic that I have a great deal of compassion about

- 1 and interest in.
- I am very pleased to probably be the
- 3 first individual to work with Senator Kevin Murray
- 4 almost two and a half years ago on this particular
- 5 topic. I think the Senator will so indicate when
- 6 he gets here later this afternoon.
- 7 Because I believe if, in fact, there is
- 8 a perception or reality that this occurs, we, in
- 9 the law enforcement business find it necessary to
- 10 step back and take a very close look at it, and do
- everything internally possible to insure that it's
- 12 not occurring.
- To that end there's a lot of things that
- 14 we, as an organization, have done. But I think
- it's very important to preface our type of job,
- 16 and I'm referring to the California Highway
- 17 Patrol, is somewhat different than local law
- 18 enforcement. So I want to speak only for the
- 19 Highway Patrol and not the local law enforcement
- on the very nature of their job.
- 21 It's a different type of job. It would
- 22 be improper for me to try to address it. We have
- 23 been keeping statistics, and I can tell you, as
- 24 Chief Venegas did, that is 100 percent of the
- 25 support of our rank-and-file, as well as all of

- 1 our managers.
- I will differ a little bit when Mr.
- 3 Venegas said we were directed to do it. We were
- 4 actually keeping the statistics for about nine to
- 5 ten months earlier than the Governor directed us
- to do, and I'll get into that in just a moment.
- 7 We actually were starting to keep some
- 8 form of statistics back as early as January of
- 9 that particular year.
- 10 I do think it's very important to keep
- 11 the statistics. We do have our first report done.
- Our first report will cover the period of July of
- '99 through the first of May of this particular
- 14 year.
- 15 In addition to that report, which is now
- 16 going through the proofing process, and will be
- 17 submitted to Governor Davis, we have sent out 433
- letters to every police chief, sheriff and law
- 19 enforcement agency in the State of California,
- 20 under my signature, asking them to participate in
- 21 a voluntary collection of data.
- To date we have received some 55, and
- 23 I'd actually give you a little wiggle room,
- 24 because it varies from day to day, of positive
- 25 responses back from the people that have agreed

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1 that they would provide and collect data.
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- We've also given them an opportunity to

 include in our report their data. I'm sorry to

 say the number of 55 is not what we had received,

 so our report, the first one, will have all of our

 statewide data. And the last I've heard it will

 be some results from 15 to 16 of the local law

 enforcement agencies that have submitted their

 data.
- Hopefully, in future years, and it is
 our intent to continue to do this data collecting,
 that those individuals from the various cities
 will submit that data so we can compile it into
 one document which will be much easier for
 everyone to digest and to read.

16 I do want to go on record and tell you I 17 think, for the most part, the vast majority of law 18 enforcement officers find this as reprehensible and unacceptable as I do, not to suggest, 19 obviously, that some of this stuff has not 20 21 occurred. I think we all know it has occurred. And I think it's very important, if nothing else, 22 the dialogue that we're undertaking today, the 23 dialogue that Senator Murray began with his 2.4 legislation, it's going to be very beneficial to 25

- 1 all of us.
- 2 I think anytime people of different
- 3 views or at least opposite thoughts on a topic,
- 4 sit and discuss the net results, we all become
- 5 better educated, and hopefully we can all work
- 6 collectively to resolve it.
- 7 I have seen the results of our first
- 8 year. The data we kept actually were in six or
- 9 seven different categories. We broke it down into
- 10 five ethnic makeups. We also kept it as to
- 11 written citations, verbal warnings, the number of
- 12 assists that we gave people on the freeways, the
- number of accidents, the number of searches, and
- the number of verbal type warnings.
- 15 Again, I do not want to obviously
- 16 preempt my boss, the Governor, and I'll certainly
- 17 wait. But I can assure you, seeing the data I'm
- 18 very pleased with the data. You're going to find
- it's pretty much nearer the makeup of the State of
- 20 California, which I assumed it would.
- 21 Saying that does not mean some
- 22 individuals may not be a problem. This has given
- us the data to look at certain individuals and to
- deal with those particular problems. I can tell
- 25 you the one category as it relates to the Highway

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1 Patrol that is high, and that's the white male.
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- 2 About 56 percent of our traffic citations are
- 3 given to white males. And it's about 50.2, if I
- 4 understand, the Department of Finance statistics,
- 5 of white males.
- 6 There's a lot of different reasons, we
- 7 have a lot of different psychiatrists and
- 8 psychologists looking at this data to try and
- 9 analyze it for me. Time will obviously prevail to
- see what that's all about.
- 11 Having said that, something else that we
- 12 have worked with Senator Murray on, and it is in
- 13 our budget and I'm kind of excited about it, I
- 14 believe Governor Davis is going to leave it, it's
- 15 about \$10 million. And it's \$10 million, a
- 16 portion of it will go to us for the cost of
- 17 collecting the data and doing this annual report.
- 18 But it's going to allow me to issue or
- 19 offer to local law enforcement a mini-grant, a
- grant of money, if they will willingly compile
- this data and submit it to us.
- I hope to be able to offset some of the
- concerns by some of the administrators by simply
- 24 saying they did not have the resources or the
- 25 availability to keep the data. Then I will have

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this money that I can issue these grants to them,

to buy the computerization, or to offset some of
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- 3 their costs. Hopefully that will alleviate some
- 4 of their concerns and we can bring more people on
- 5 line in keeping the data.
- The Assembly and the Senate, the \$10

 million in our budget. The Governor has indicated
- 8 most likelihood he will sign it. That was mainly
- 9 with the effort of Senator Kevin Murray. So we'll
- 10 certainly know here by July 1 if it stays there.
- 11 Probably at that time we'll be talking
- to a lot of you folks here; we're going to need to
- $\,$ get some ideas as to what criteria we develop as
- 14 we go on to various groups to ask them to do it.
- 15 But I do know some of the smaller
- 16 agencies in the state have made it clear to me
- 17 that they were not adverse to doing it, they felt
- 18 the costs of keeping the data would be
- 19 unacceptable in their budgets. So hopefully that
- will stay in and we'll be able to solve it.
- I did want to take just a couple minutes
- to explain a couple of the things that we are
- doing, which I think all works towards this whole
- 24 issue. And the issue is to try to be sure that
- every person, disregarding gender and/or race, is

- 1 properly and fairly treated.
- 2 And I think our friend from San Diego
- 3 mentioned we do -- you know, by state law there is
- 4 a percentage for bilingual. We have lowered that.
- 5 The percentage is basically if 5 percent of the
- 6 people in your population and area speak a
- different dialect, we, in the State of California,
- 8 offer a monthly bonus. We've reduced that to 2.5
- 9 percent.
- So, if there's 2.5 percent of the folks
- in the group that speak, for example, Spanish, our
- folks that can pass the fluency test do get a
- bonus for that.
- We, as an organization, have also
- 15 extended that. The state has established that for
- 16 our officer ranks, we've extended it to all our
- 17 nonuniform people, all of our clerical staff and
- all of our dispatch staff.
- 19 And we have about 900 people now on a
- 20 monthly basis receiving the bonus for being able
- 21 to speak a particular dialect --
- 22 (End tape 2B.)
- 23 COMMISSIONER HELMICK: We have created a
- 24 community outreach program. That community
- outreach program is commanded by Lt. Steve Bell.

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And Steve's effort is to try to get out into the

community to try to ascertain as much as he can

from the community what they perceive our problems
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4 are, and what we can do to better serve the

5 community.

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thing.

Some of the things he has done, for
example, is in the Bay Area he's worked with the
NAACP where we actually have an educational
project where future officers are being taught,
through the auspices of a group effort between
ourselves and the NAACP, to insure that those
individuals can pass our exam and we can get a
viable input of people into the department.

We, too, have an outreach group, a citizens advisory group, that advises me, as well as the department, on a wide breadth of topics.

That group is chaired, and a majority of the individuals are of minority classification. And I think they've been very helpful as they review our policies and procedures and give their perspective to insure that we are trying to do the right

23 All in all I think this discussion is 24 good. And I think what Senator Murray has done is

good. At the very least we have brought a topic

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1 that is something that has been talked about for a
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- 2 long time in the law enforcement community, we
- 3 have brought it to the forefront. We've had
- 4 meetings such as this.
- 5 And, again, I think anytime that any of
- 6 these problems are addressed in a public forum,
- 7 the net results is that we will all inherit and be
- 8 improved by it. And I look forward to continuing
- 9 that improvement project.
- 10 Governor, I thank you for giving the
- 11 chance to be here today.
- 12 (Applause.)
- 13 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you,
- 14 Commissioner. Thank you for making time in your
- 15 schedule. I know you're very very busy, and
- 16 you're all over the state. So, thank you for
- 17 making the time.
- 18 Next we have Ronald Davis, Captain with
- 19 the Oakland Police Department. Welcome.
- 20 (Applause.)
- 21 CAPTAIN DAVIS: Let me start by saying
- 22 to the Commissioner, put Oakland down for one of
- those grants.
- 24 (Laughter.)
- 25 CAPTAIN DAVIS: I know to follow after

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1 lunch is very tough, so if you can kind of stretch

- in your seats a little bit, we'll kind of
- 3 regenerate and get some energy.
- 4 But let me start by saying that justice
- 5 is blind, it is truly blind. And if you believe
- that I've got a car outside to sell you. Justice
- 7 is far from blind. In the minority community
- 8 justice has perfect 20/20 vision. It can
- 9 distinguish race, ethnicity, economics, social
- 10 conditions. It can determine everything it needs
- 11 to determine.
- 12 And it is not blind because justice is a
- 13 system of people. As long as you have people
- 14 you're going to have basically biases. These are
- 15 biases and stereotypes that people bring to the
- job, and unfortunately they're there on the job.
- 17 So, for me, with the issue of racial
- profiling, and I have to agree with Chief Venegas,
- 19 it is not the problem, it is a symptom. It is a
- 20 manifestation of a larger problem at hand. And
- that is bias-based policing.
- 22 And I'll define it in my own terms that
- 23 bias-based policing is the act, intentional or
- 24 unintentional, of applying or incorporating
- 25 personal or organizational biases and/or

1 stereotypes as the basis or factors considered in

- 2 decision-making, enforcement actions or activities
- for the general administration of justice.
- 4 If you look at recent incidences of
- 5 racial profiling, excessive force, ranging from
- 6 the Taisha Miller (phonetic) case in Riverside to
- 7 the Dallo (phonetic) case in New York, to the
- 8 shootings of unarmed minority suspects, to the
- 9 shootings of off-duty minority officers, this is
- 10 not about training. You don't have white officers
- 11 getting shot off duty. This is about bias. If
- 12 you have the bias then you're going to react to
- 13 it.
- But I must say this, the officers that
- 15 comprise law enforcement are outstanding men and
- 16 women. These, in most cases, are subconscious and
- 17 unintentional.
- The question, if you look at the similar
- 19 justice, and if I recall right, there's a lady
- 20 with a blindfold with the scales. If you look at
- 21 that it does not suggest that she's blind. It
- 22 suggests that she's blindfolded. And that's what
- justice has to be. You just can't be blind
- 24 because you have biases already.
- We have to come up with systems that

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1 serve as blindfolds, so that we protect ourselves
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- 2 from ourselves in using personal biases when
- 3 exerting the authority of power of our office.
- 4 The question is how do we actually
- 5 create blindfolds. And I will submit this, we've
- 6 talked about it a little bit, but not as much,
- 7 it's all about leadership and accountability.
- 8 Another group that this Commission
- 9 should bring to you are the ICMA, the
- 10 International City Managers Association. These
- are the ones who hire and fire chiefs of police.
- 12 That's where the buck stops, is with the chiefs of
- police and administrators.
- 14 You should not have to mandate data
- 15 collection, although I do agree, data collection
- 16 is essential. You should have CEOs, chief
- 17 executive officers, should do it because they have
- 18 to do it, because they want to do it, because you
- 19 hold them accountable for it. And if they don't
- 20 want to do it and address problems of perceptions,
- 21 then replace them.
- This is about leadership, the
- 23 accountability systems. For example, recruitment.
- 24 And I understand where the person was going with
- 25 the Idaho I guess idealogy. But if a person does

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1 lack experience and diversity, then maybe hire
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- 2 that person under internship program. So where
- 3 they can actually mingle with and learn diversity
- 4 on their job without carrying a gun and being in a
- 5 position to exert force at this stage.
- 6 Also, without the leadership you have a
- 7 clear purpose. What is the purpose of the
- 8 organization? If you don't have defined a
- 9 purpose, and the chief of police is not making it
- 10 clear what he or she wants, then you leave it up
- 11 to the officers to define it, themselves. Which
- means community policing could be everything from
- making a lot of arrests to what some people call
- it, hugging trees.
- 15 It has to have a clear purpose as
- 16 defined by the chief of police. And if they don't
- 17 have that, then the officers will find one,
- 18 themselves.
- 19 So, once you define a purpose, then you
- 20 hire people that will help you achieve that goal,
- 21 whose values match the values of the organization.
- 22 That's what recruitment is about. You do whatever
- is necessary to obtain those people. Whether it
- is signing bonuses, recruitment. we need to start
- 25 acting like a business, not government. And if we

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were a business we would be bankrupt,
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- 2 unfortunately.
- 3 Promotion. You need to promote people
- 4 that are going to provide courageous leadership,
- 5 do the right thing for the right reason. Don't
- 6 worry about being popular, be right. Right
- decisions are not always popular. And popular
- 8 decisions are definitely not always right.
- 9 Have the courageous leadership. But if
- 10 you have the purpose, you have the organizational
- values, then you promote those people that live up
- 12 to that standard.
- Now you have supervisors who are, in
- fact, providing strong, courageous and ethical
- 15 leadership. You have to have diversity in the
- 16 organization. But I must say this, the race of an
- 17 officer does not make a good officer. But the
- diversity of the organization does make a good
- organization. There's a big difference.
- Diversity is definitely needed.
- 21 The other thing is assignments. You
- have some assignments in which you are forcing
- officers to stay in a negative environment for
- 24 extended periods of time, narcotics, certain
- 25 street enforcements, where all they see are

- suspects and criminals.
- 2 And depending on the demographics of
- 3 that neighborhood, it might be suspects and
- 4 criminals of one race. Three, four years of
- 5 dealing with nothing but 1 percent of the
- 6 population 98 percent of the time has now formed a
- 7 bias.
- 8 The academy, I agree with the gentleman
- 9 earlier today, the academy doesn't teach bias.
- 10 But law enforcement has such a formal
- 11 indoctrination process that it can actually change
- the values of people that their mothers and
- 13 fathers have spent a lifetime building. And they
- can do it within the first 12 months.
- 15 And it is not limited to white officers.
- 16 Black officers will profile as much as white
- officers. Once again, it goes back to the
- 18 accountability. What are you willing to do, for
- 19 the chiefs. You have to step up and accept
- 20 accountability or step away from the stars.
- The other area is discipline.
- 22 Discipline has to be consistent. And it cannot be
- done with the potential of -- and I know you have
- 24 to balance things like police officers
- associations and unions. Bring them to the table,

work with -- always work with. But if you're

- going to manage, be the person in charge.
- 3 Leadership and supervision. Field
- 4 supervision. What is your ratio? What kind of
- 5 field supervision? What message are you sending
- 6 to the troops?
- 7 Because even if the chief, the
- 8 commanders, the captains can come up with every
- 9 great idea known to man or woman, and if the
- 10 sergeant of police goes out in the field, and just
- 11 simply raises an eyebrow when you talk about data
- 12 collection, there goes the program.
- 13 Sergeants field training officers have
- 14 more power than we ever imagined. But we promote
- 15 them without even thinking about it. So it goes
- 16 back to promotion systems. We must have
- 17 leadership and supervision.
- 18 Now we talked about the establishment of
- 19 values. The gentlemen from POST mentioned about
- 20 ethics class. There's no such thing as an ethics
- 21 class. Ethics has to be incorporated in every
- 22 class that you have.
- I went to recently, with the Department
- 24 of Justice, a panel discussion. They were talking
- 25 about shootings of basically all three officers

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were in Providence, I believe, Rhode Island.
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- Shooting of an off-duty minority officer. We're
- 3 talking everything from simulated trainings to all
- 4 types of training. And I had to keep reinforcing
- 5 to them that if it was as simple as shoot/don't
- 6 shoot, with shooting skills, then you would have a
- 7 bunch of white/black/Hispanic, all kinds of off-
- 8 duty cops would be getting shot. But it's not.
- 9 And until we start assessing decision-
- 10 making and identifying all those decisions based
- on biases, then we will have excessive force,
- 12 racial profiling, race-based stops, which all
- comes under the heading of bias-based policing.
- 14 And so that's what we have to focus on.
- 15 Ethics has to be a part of everything that the
- 16 organization does. It has to go from the top of
- 17 the chain all the way down to the rank-and-file,
- 18 itself. In every class, in every roll call, in
- every message, zero tolerance, war on drugs,
- 20 scorched earth, blacklist, all of that has to go.
- You are sending indirect messages to
- your officers that we are at war. And
- unfortunately, it's always limited to the minority
- 24 community.
- 25 I have to really stress, and I'm getting

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1 somewhat kind of heated with this, it goes to
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- 2 leadership and accountability. Chiefs are walking
- 3 around here basically saying, it costs too much.
- 4 I do not understand that. We have so much
- 5 statistics right now, I can tell you from an
- 6 agency, how many arrests we've made, when we made
- 7 it, how we made it, what time of the day we made
- 8 it. But I cannot tell how many people are
- 9 stopped.
- 10 If 3 percent of my stops are resulting
- in arrests, forget the right or wrong, as a
- manager that's totally inefficient. The Lt.
- 13 Governor said it, himself, if it was a business
- and I was a manager, and if 3 percent of my
- 15 efforts produced the product I would be a manager
- about a minute and a half before I got replaced.
- 17 Why is law enforcement exempt? We
- 18 should not be exempt. We have to establish those
- 19 systems that create blindfolds for law
- 20 enforcement. But it cannot be discretionary
- 21 blindfolds. It's not something that also has a
- 22 time to stop and say, oh, let me check my biases.
- 23 It has to be automatic. It must be automatic. If
- it is not, then it will be, once again, arbitrary,
- and it will still be based on biases again.

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So, I say that our focus has to be --
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- 2 data collection is important, training is
- 3 important, but this is a complex problem. It
- 4 addresses accountability systems, biases we bring
- from society, from what we learn on the job. It
- 6 addresses training, promotions, recruitment,
- 7 hiring.
- 8 And what is needed right now is
- 9 basically a complex, comprehensive response. So I
- 10 really want to stay away from separating this
- 11 debate about whether or not to collect the data
- and what we're going to do. It all needs to come
- together at one time.
- 14 And since I got the warning of five
- 15 minutes, another thing that was not mentioned was
- 16 the community part of it. If you truly have
- 17 community policing, you do not have to validate
- 18 factual data that something's occurring.
- 19 If you are embracing a community
- oriented policing, the mere fact that you perceive
- 21 that it's happening means that I, as an executive,
- have only but one responsibility. To address it,
- correct it, and let you know what I'm doing about
- 24 it.
- 25 I don't need any statistic to tell me

that. If you feel it, and overwhelmingly in the

- 2 minority community you're telling me it's
- 3 happening, then I need to respond to it. Period.
- 4 That is community oriented policing.
- 5 Also, what we have to do with our
- 6 response to bias-based policing is to engage the
- 7 community in finding the solutions. We have to
- 8 educate. Someone said that earlier, education to
- 9 the public. A part of accountability is for the
- 10 customer to know what is right and what is wrong,
- or what they can accept, or what they don't have
- 12 to accept.
- 13 There is one program that nobody has
- 14 worked with, with the NAACP, and that is The Law
- and You Program, sponsored by Allstate. And it's
- 16 short, and it's a brochure that the Commissioners
- 17 have, it is a program that talks about -- I
- 18 believe Chief Armstead mentioned that San Diego
- 19 had something similar -- the rights and
- 20 responsibilities.
- 21 Because it is twofold. It's an
- 22 interaction. An interaction involves two people.
- 23 And sometimes responses dictate response, if you
- 24 will. Or actions dictate response.
- 25 It talks about the rights and

1 responsibility of those being stopped. It also

- 2 gives a brief outline of what is officer
- 3 misconduct, and how you can respond to it.
- 4 Agencies can take this and assert, or
- 5 have a complaint process. Once again, this goes
- 6 to the leadership issue that if you're engaging
- 7 your community with diversity training, and
- 8 diversity training cannot just be about how to
- 9 respect diversity, it has to be about how to
- 10 manage diversity. Especially for managers. You
- 11 can't just respect it, you have to manage it to
- where you get the most benefit from it.
- 13 But when you have the training it must
- 14 engage the community. They must understand
- 15 exactly what is acceptable, what is not, and what
- 16 they can do about it and have confidence that
- 17 you're going to respond.
- I do not know what's going to happen
- 19 with the bill, if they're going to change it, as
- 20 far a data collection. But I would urge and
- 21 strongly recommend to every chief of police or
- 22 administrator in the state, if you don't collect
- data for any other reason, collect it because it
- 24 will instill public trust in your agency.
- 25 You must display that you are willing to

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take an introspective look at yourself; that
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- 2 you're willing to open the books; and accept that
- 3 the worst thing that could happen by collecting
- 4 data is unfortunately, god forbid, you might learn
- 5 something.
- Thank you very much.
- 7 (Applause.)
- 8 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Amen. Thank
- 9 you, that was a wonderful presentation.
- 10 Next we have Sunny Lee, the Program
- 11 Manager for the Tools for Tolerance for Law
- 12 Enforcement Program at the Simon Wiesenthal Center
- 13 Museum of Tolerance.
- 14 (Applause.)
- 15 MS. LEE: Thank you, Lt. Governor and
- 16 Commissioners, for inviting us here to share with
- 17 you some of the work that we are doing at the
- 18 Museum of Tolerance.
- 19 You may have seen me nodding my head
- 20 during this last presentation. I'm really
- 21 encouraged to hear that we are on the right track
- 22 in some of the planning for our future programs
- and the program that we are doing at the museum.
- I think we can all agree that the issue
- of racial profiling, whether it exists or not, is

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1 a moot point. We all know it does exist. And I
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- 2 had the occasion to ask officers during my three
- 3 and a half years there about profiling. Does it
- 4 exist, does it not exist, and almost everyone will
- 5 acknowledge that profiling does exist.
- 6 But they will also argue that profiling
- 7 is based on experience and a necessary part of law
- 8 enforcement. And I wasn't going to go blue in the
- 9 face arguing with them the pros and cons of
- 10 profiling.
- 11 However, I think the crux of the matter
- 12 is it's what the officer chooses to do with that
- 13 profile. How the officer acts upon that profile.
- And if that is the case, we, as a training
- 15 program, want to be a part of the officer's
- 16 experience that will determine his or her
- 17 actions. We want to infuse that experience
- 18 with lessons in diversity, sensitivity and
- 19 tolerance.
- 20 Part of our training program is to
- emphasize that respect, respect from the
- 22 community, is a linchpin to effective law
- enforcement, and can be a tool in modern policing.
- 24 The current Tools for Tolerance program
- 25 began in 1996 as a professional development

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program for front-line professionals, doctors,
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- 2 lawyers, municipal employees, health care workers,
- 3 corporations, and about 16,000 public school
- 4 educators have all taken part in the program.
- 5 But it has been law enforcement that has
- 6 been on the vanguard of this training.
- Recognizing early on the value of this kind of
- 8 experiential learning, they have come in numbers.
- 9 We have seen in these last three and a
- 10 half years about 30,000 members of law enforcement
- 11 statewide and nationally. We have worked with
- 12 over 180 different agencies from as far north as
- 13 Eureka, California, all the way down to San Diego.
- 14 And apparently we trained more officers than all
- the academies combined in one year.
- Now, the gist of the program, then, is
- 17 to look at what can happen to a community when
- values such as mutual respect and personal
- 19 responsibility fall by the wayside in both the
- 20 historic and contemporary context.
- One of the examples that we use, one of
- the primary examples we use is the holocaust. It
- is an extreme example of what can happen. But in
- 24 addition to that, we also get more subtle examples
- of power of words, prejudice, bigotry and the

- 1 power of individual choice.
- 2 We try to promote self awareness. What
- 3 our program is trying to do is impact values and
- 4 influence the totality of the officers'
- 5 experience.
- Now, I don't stand here telling you that
- 7 the museum is a panacea for all of society's ills,
- 8 but it is a place to start the dialogue. We can
- 9 help frame the discussion, give information and
- 10 certainly share resources.
- 11 There are a couple of things that are on
- our plate that we are developing that I think can
- 13 address some of these issues that have been
- 14 brought up.
- 15 First of all, we hope to launch an
- 16 advance initiative starting next year for command
- 17 staff. If, indeed, part of the problem is
- 18 addressing the institutional environment, it does
- 19 start with the leadership. So we'd like to launch
- 20 a program for an advancing issue for command
- 21 staff, lieutenants and above, in a two to three
- 22 day program that addresses a variety of issues.
- Not only diversity, but also the evolving and
- 24 changing role of law enforcement, and what tools
- 25 can be used to more effective policing.

Secondly, we've talked a little bit

about opening dialogue with the community. One of

the programs that we are promoting is bringing

stakeholders of the community together to discuss

these very type of issues.

We've advanced several programs, what

we've been calling law enforcement partnership

with educators. We've brought in communities to

start discussing issues.

We know that the problems in our

communities are more than can be handled by any

ne group, but indeed collaboration and

cooperation are the key.

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So we have an institution, a place where that dialogue can take place. And like I mentioned, our LPS program, as we've been calling it, has opened eyes. Because it gives officers the opportunity, as well as educators, to see that their jobs are more similar than they are different.

And thirdly, I'd like to just make a comment about this ethics training. Part of our program we give a workshop on the evolving role of law enforcement. And at the end we talk a lot about the law enforcement code of ethics.

1 And one of my trainers was telling me

- 2 that after this workshop a participant came up to
- 3 him and told him, you know what, I was really
- 4 offended, because I thought you were talking down
- 5 to us. Why do we need to cover this law
- 6 enforcement code of ethics.
- 7 And my trainer replied, well, let's go
- 8 back. Are you offended if the department mandates
- 9 that you go and qualify shooting every other
- 10 month. Of course not. Well, like shooting,
- 11 ethics is a perishable skill. It is something
- that needs to be visited and revisited and
- 13 revisited again. It is something that needs to be
- 14 practiced.
- 15 And so that is what we are trying to do
- 16 at the museum, is giving the opportunity to talk
- about values and ethics, about responsibility,
- 18 choice and the power of words. And these are just
- 19 some of the programs that are going on at this
- 20 time.
- Thank you very much.
- 22 (Applause.)
- 23 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Dr. Washington,
- 24 would you like to add anything? Please, you're
- 25 more than welcome.

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1 Again, Dr. Washington.
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- 2 (Applause.)
- 3 DR. WASHINGTON: Just a statement.
- 4 Unlike racial profiling, that the driving while
- 5 black or driving while brown, the current scandal
- 6 that's going on now in Los Angeles, coming out of
- 7 the Rampart Station, there is some evidence, there
- 8 are some statistics.
- 9 We believe that the police have the
- 10 evidence and that they know about it. If they
- don't, we have it. And for two years we have
- tried to share that information with the police
- department, with the FBI, with the U.S. Attorney
- 14 General's Office to no avail.
- 15 And so if there's one thing that I would
- like to say to law enforcement people or whatever
- 17 business you're in, it pays to pay attention to
- 18 what the stakeholders have to say.
- Many times it can be a rewarding and
- 20 helpful experience if you listen to people who
- 21 have information, who are out in the trenches, who
- know what's going on, who talk to people.
- And as we have done, we've had two
- 24 police misconduct hearings, and we have in our
- 25 possession, pictures of people who have vicious

1 scars from dog bites. We have pictures of people

- who were shot many many times, five or six times.
- 3 People who have said to us that they refrained.
- 4 And we saw the supposedly evidence that was
- 5 planted.
- And so we have, we really have a long
- 7 way to go with racial profiling. It, as you know,
- 8 as you can see, it has certainly spilled over into
- 9 law enforcement in the Los Angeles Police
- 10 Department. And whatever we do, I do think that
- 11 we have to understand that it is more than
- 12 collecting data. It's, as has already been said,
- 13 what happens to that data and how it's used.
- 14 And hopefully, even the Rampart
- 15 situation will be helpful to legislators and to
- 16 us, as citizens, as we look at this problem of
- 17 driving while black or driving while brown.
- 18 (Applause.)
- 19 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- ${\tt Two}$
- great panels. We have a couple of questions from
- the audience, but if there are members of the
- 22 Commission who would like to start? Yes,
- 23 Professor Saito.
- 24 COMMISSIONER SAITO: Well, first as an
- 25 employee of UC San Diego, I'm very pleased that

- 1 this event is taking place on our campus.
- 2 Also, as you walk around the campus, and
- 3 I hope you enjoy your visit here, and clearly UC
- 4 San Diego is one of the great research
- 5 universities in the United States, but as you walk
- 6 around our campus do your own informal survey of
- 7 our student body. And you'll find that it is one
- 8 of the least diverse of all the college campuses
- 9 in California.
- 10 And considering the very fine study by
- 11 the former President of Harvard University,
- Derrick Banque (phonetic) on affirmative action,
- and all the positive benefits that affirmative
- action can bring, what they might consider is that
- 15 UC San Diego and the other UC campuses can be a
- 16 better college and give better service to the
- 17 State of California and to society if we can bring
- 18 back affirmative action.
- But let me get off my soap box and maybe
- that's an issue for another day and another
- 21 meeting.
- But I think the phrase driving while
- 23 black or brown is very instructive and it
- 24 highlights an incredibly important issue. But one
- of the things that it ignores, though, is how this

- 1 affects Asian-Americans.
- 2 And considering our state, the State of
- 3 California, and other states such as New York,
- 4 which incredibly large populations of Asian-
- 5 Americans, we should consider that.
- 6 For example, a survey in New York City
- 7 showed that for Asian-Americans the biggest
- 8 perpetrator of hate crimes was the New York City
- 9 Police Department. Ranging from racial slurs to
- 10 wrongful death cases.
- 11 Coming back here to the State of
- California, several years ago in the northern part
- of our state, an Asian-American man who was very
- 14 distraught, drunk, late one night was standing in
- 15 front of his house waving a stick in a very quiet
- suburban community such as La Jolla.
- 17 The police officers who responded to the
- 18 call shot and killed him. Their explanation:
- 19 Well, we thought he knew kung fu. Now, that's a
- 20 tragic case of racial profiling. Or in the case
- of Asian-American young men who are profiled as
- 22 members of gangs.
- 23 But also at the same time I think we
- 24 have to consider that Asian-Americans, as with
- across the country, such as in Little Tokyo in Los

1 Angeles or Chinatown in New York City, have fought

- very hard, have supported having police
- 3 substations in their communities.
- 4 Because they are, Asian-Americans are,
- 5 as with others, are very concerned about having
- 6 safe neighborhoods, about the issue of crime.
- 7 But, as with other Americans, we're also very
- 8 concerned about having professional and bias-free
- 9 policing, law enforcement.
- 10 And so the issue is how can we have safe
- 11 neighborhoods, good law enforcement without having
- 12 gender and racial bias.
- 13 And I was just wondering if Ms.
- 14 Alexander from the ACLU knew of any studies that
- 15 looked at racial profiling and how it affected
- 16 Asian-Americans.
- MS. ALEXANDER: (Inaudible.)
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: (Inaudible.)
- 19 SPEAKER: Thank you. I wanted to ask
- 20 Capt. Davis, the Assistant Chief from San Diego,
- 21 and Sunny, as well, what constitutes a good
- diversity training.
- We hear a lot about that, but what, in
- your opinion, what makes up a good diversity
- 25 training program?

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CAPTAIN DAVIS: An opportunity to do

some selling of NOBLE. As part of the community/

policemen consortium we work with other agencies

like IACP, PERF, National Sheriffs Association, to

come up with human diversity training that also

has a community engagement.
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And in an environment where people are
frank about the stereotypes, where there's an open
environment, you can sit around and actually throw
those stereotypes on the table, find out why we
have them, what we're going to do about them, we
can learn from each other. And if nothing else,
walk away with a better understanding of who we
are.

I think also for managers is how to manage diversity. And for people to be aware. So whatever diversity training that we have, and I'm not saying it's the best one, it has to have community engagement and it has to be open and frank to where people can actually throw out those biases and stereotypes without feeling there's going to be some type of retaliatory action, or some type of punishment.

So, without that, when you use the word diversity, just within the culture of law

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1 enforcement, you will basically just turn off
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- every officer that's sitting in that row. So you
- 3 also have to worry about the presenter of the
- 4 information, who presents the information.
- 5 And sometimes when you lose law
- 6 enforcement, and they already have certain
- 7 credibility to establish, and then you partner
- 8 with the community, you partner with maybe those
- 9 in the academic role, then it's a lot better than
- 10 if you just bring an outside consultant in and
- 11 force-feed information to the officers that really
- become accusatory, that you are a bunch of
- 13 racists, you don't understand black people. And
- if you do that you've lost them.
- So, it has to be really a mutual
- 16 engagement. Otherwise I think it's totally
- ineffective.
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Cruz.
- MS. LEE: I agree --
- 20 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Go ahead.
- 21 SPEAKER: I agree with the Captain.
- What we found at the police department is that
- when you have training that stems around
- 24 scenarios, real live situations that people may
- get involved in, scenario training where they are

very -- these scenarios are very meaningful,

- 2 scenarios that people have probably experienced
- 3 sometimes during their life span. That seems to
- 4 really get the message across quite well.
- 5 And I also agree that it needs to have
- 6 some type of a community component where you get
- 7 ideas from the community, and actually bring
- 8 people in, well known people from the community
- 9 that actually do training. And then you need to
- 10 train your own trainers inside your department or
- inside your organization.
- 12 As the Captain said, the trainers are
- 13 very important. You can bring someone in from the
- outside that can turn them off, but if you have
- 15 some very well respected people that are good
- 16 trainers inside, and you can train some trainers
- 17 to deliver the message, then I think you'll have a
- very strong program.
- 19 SPEAKER: Personally, I don't think that
- 20 we should limit cultural diversity training to a
- 21 training. I see it something that is ongoing.
- That our program is just the beginning.
- We need to encourage the officers to go
- 24 out and find other training that best suits them
- 25 for their community. I know the work that you do,

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that you come down and work with Sunny about, I
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- 2 think that was essential. And we're building on
- 3 top of what they experienced at the museum.
- I don't see training as a beginning and
- 5 an end, but rather something that's ongoing. And
- to me, that would be the most ideal.
- 7 CAPTAIN DAVIS: Can I throw one thing
- 8 out there? For police departments, it's kind of
- 9 (inaudible.) The Oakland Police Department we
- 10 test promotional exam every year and a half. And
- 11 right about three months before the promotion
- 12 cycle, everybody starts looking for those
- policies, rules and everything that was passed out
- over the last 12 months.
- 15 And so if agencies that do not have a
- 16 promotional system, even when there's a slot to
- fill, they're losing probably the largest training
- 18 opportunity there is.
- 19 And so what you have to do, what the
- 20 chiefs have to do is if you're pushing diversity,
- 21 the troops have to see that you mean it, which
- 22 means it's in your testing process. It's in your
- scenarios. It's in the oral -- in other words,
- it's in your interview. And it's going to be in
- 25 your background, they look at you, what successes

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1 have you had with managing diversity, working with
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- 2 the diverse environment. And if you don't have
- 3 that then the chance of you getting promoted.
- I've seen chiefs, who I think are very
- 5 courageous, even add things like if you're not
- 6 personally involved above and beyond what we're
- 7 paying you for, nonprofit organizations within the
- 8 community, don't expect to reach a level of
- 9 lieutenant or captain.
- 10 Because now you're starting to get into
- senior management, executive management, and there
- has to be more than 8:00 to 4:00.
- So, I mean you have the training, I
- agree, but it has to be every day in every way,
- incorporating everything.
- 16 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Cruz.
- 17 PROFESSOR REYNOSO: I wondered what the
- panel's reaction is to the following: I'm a
- 19 member of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights.
- 20 While I've been in the Commission we've had
- 21 hearings in Los Angeles, Santa Rosa, including the
- incident just mentioned, Miami and New York.
- 23 And each time that we've had hearings
- it's as if we were listening to two different
- 25 cities. The mayor, the police chief, the district

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1 attorney come on and tell us how everything is
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- 2 hunky-dory; they've taken surveys, 85, 90 percent
- of the people approve of what's happening.
- Then we hear from the community,
- 5 particularly religious and community leaders. And
- 6 then sometimes hundreds, as in Santa Rosa, of
- 7 citizens who come forward and tell us all these
- 8 horror stories.
- 9 And I get the sense that we're listening
- 10 to completely different communities. Is that the
- 11 norm? What's going on?
- 12 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Anyone?
- 13 (Laughter.)
- 14 SPEAKER: I think we've got someone in
- 15 the audience, is if you have a situation where the
- 16 community has a totally different perspective than
- 17 that of the department, then I will guarantee you
- 18 you probably don't have an organization that has
- 19 adopted community oriented policing as a
- 20 philosophy.
- 21 And I don't mean the specific program.
- Because what's happening is we've conditioned
- throughout the years that it's we versus them;
- that we're here to enforce, and we'll tell you
- what we're going to enforce, where we're going to

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1 enforce, how we're going to enforce. And I'll
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- even tell you when you're happy. And if you want
- 3 to question me about my success, I can throw you
- 4 some stats to show you I made a lot of arrests.
- 5 So I will go around, go to my city
- 6 council, go to my mayor, I'll go to my manager,
- 7 and I will throw down statistics that say I've
- 8 been very successful as a chief, because I've made
- 9 5000 arrests, recovered 20 kilos of cocaine.
- 10 But you're sitting in your house saying,
- I don't see it, I ain't feeling it, your officers
- are rude, and we're on two different pages
- 13 totally.
- 14 And so once again it goes to what
- 15 messages we're sending from the top down; what are
- 16 the priorities we set. And when you're developing
- 17 mission, vision and value statements, setting the
- 18 purpose, is the community part and parcel of that
- 19 conversation. If not, you're going in two
- 20 different directions.
- 21 PROFESSOR REYNOSO: I've thought of that
- in somewhat of a broader sense, and that is that
- the DA's, the mayors and the council people get
- 24 elected by 51 percent of the vote or more.
- 25 And so they see that a majority of the

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1 people, in fact, are happy with the police. And
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- 2 so they end up with little incentive to worry
- 3 about the minority, irrespective of race and so
- 4 on, that are unhappy.
- 5 So I've been worrying about it sort of
- in a broader concept of our democratic society. I
- don't know whether that makes sense to you or not.
- 8 The question that came from the
- 9 audience, by requiring individuals to ask officers
- 10 for their cards, isn't that putting the onus on
- 11 the victim, rather than a law enforcement agency
- that could be possibly breaking the law?
- 13 Anyone? It was a general question.
- 14 Anybody want to --
- 15 SPEAKER: My understanding the new law
- is going to (inaudible.)
- 17 SPEAKER: Well, again, I don't want to
- 18 speak for (inaudible.) My understanding, and I
- 19 know it would be our policy, they would not have
- to ask.
- 21 The law, as drafted, certainly has not
- 22 passed, but it would provide some provisions that
- on those occasions the card would be necessary.
- 24 So I would hopefully, in working with the Senator,
- 25 that that bill goes through so the person would

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1 not have to ask for it.
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- 2 That the criteria is in the law, the
 3 officer would have to go ahead and make the offer
 4 to the individual and not the reverse. The
 5 citizen would not have to ask for the card.
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: So that every
- 7 officer on every stop would hand a card?
- SPEAKER: Yes, sir. I can assure you

 we've already got them printed. All of our

 officers will carry the cards. And as desired, in

 fact the law is drafted, and if it goes through,

is if you don't issue a citation or another

- written document that has the officer's name and
- identifying number on it, the officer would have to take the effort to say, and have a good day or
- 16 whatever, but here is my card.

- So, I don't think the citizen should

 have to ask for the card. I'm not saying that's

 good or bad, but that's the way it's being drafted

 to go through.
- 21 SPEAKER: I agree with that, that's my
 22 understanding. I heard a debate about a week ago.
- 23 And the card is voluntarily given to the citizen.
- And it must be, the officer is under obligation to
- 25 be sure and present that card. It's called now a

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1 complaint card instead of a --
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- 2 SPEAKER: But, you know, can I just add
- on that, Governor, --
- 4 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Go ahead.
- 5 SPEAKER: -- the Doctor mentioned, and I
- 6 think that maybe goes to something Mr. Reynoso
- 7 indicated, too, and I've already heard this thing
- 8 as a complaint card.
- 9 I think that's very derogatory by its
- 10 very nature. And I would hope that we, all these
- issues, trying to solve this problem, can -- I
- 12 know you didn't call it that, I've already heard
- 13 some officers.
- We need to get past that. It's simply a
- 15 means of identifying that officer so the person
- 16 knows who stopped them. And if it keeps that
- 17 person a little hesitant to do some of the things
- that are wrong, that's fine. That's perfect, if
- 19 it works.
- 20 And there's ways of getting around a
- 21 variety of different systems. I'd like to make it
- 22 not a positive thing, but a thing that's just part
- of their job, to give that card. And not trying
- 24 to label it, because I think that would derogatory
- for trying to help the problem.

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1 SPEAKER: In the private industry they
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- 2 do a lot of -- like when you call up certain
- 3 places they'll tell you your call may be monitored
- 4 for customer service.
- 5 For leadership issues in the field, if
- 6 we're counting on statistical reports to provide
- 7 leadership or supervision for rank-and-file
- 8 officers we've lost the battle.
- 9 By the time you give the report it's a
- 10 day late and a dollar short. You need leadership
- which means we need to do a lot of audit and
- inspections.
- 13 And as we proceed, if you have a policy
- 14 that mandates you hand out business cards, or that
- 15 you have to give a business card when you're asked
- 16 for it, then you need to send people out there as
- 17 most private agencies would do, that are your
- agents, to insure that in fact when they got
- 19 stopped they got a business card, and that if they
- don't you are very decisive. You make it clear.
- 21 And once again you send a message from the top
- down, that this is exactly what you meant.
- 23 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Go ahead.
- 24 COMMISSIONER MORALES: As somebody who
- 25 lived and worked by the Rampart Station, --

- 2 COMMISSIONER MORALES: -- I don't know
- 3 if I should apologize or let you know that things
- 4 are moving along.
- 5 But as recently as the other day I was
- 6 at Cleveland by the marketplace, and I asked -- I
- 7 was at the station and asked a police officer for
- 8 a hotel, looking for the Radisson Hotel. And we
- 9 had a nice conversation and he gave me the
- 10 direction.
- 11 And after the discussion we had he told
- me to have a good time in Cleveland, Mr. Miagi.
- 13 And he laughed, I laughed. And I said, thank you
- for that congratulations, but I don't want to sign
- any autograph for Mr. Miagi at this point in time.
- 16 Another anecdote I want to share is the
- 17 fact that I was pulled over for a smog test on my
- 18 car by this police officer, very nice, cordial;
- 19 pulled out my card, looked at it, saw my wife and
- 20 my family and said, what is a Japanese with a
- 21 Spanish name doing in this neighborhood.
- 22 And my wife touch me and says, don't be
- rude now, be nice.
- 24 (Laughter.)
- 25 COMMISSIONER MORALES: So I was very

1 nice. I gave him a little history. And we

- parted, I thought, cordially.
- 3 Another police officer by Venice Beach
- 4 in Los Angeles, Venice, I got stopped with young
- 5 people in my car, and apparently the police
- 6 officer thought I made the wrong U-turn, so we
- 7 sort of argued.
- Finally he said, next time I catch you I
- 9 will throw the book at you. And I'm not going to
- 10 give you a ticket, so don't think that I am
- picking on you because your name is Morales.
- 12 Three incidents that sort of give a
- different flavor, and different ethnic police
- officers, by the way, different colors. I don't
- have to say what they are.
- 16 But, indeed, it is an issue and concern.
- 17 And in the Rampart issue division, I belong to one
- community organization that is moving very nice
- 19 and slowly in relationship to the community/police
- 20 relation.
- One of the things that we're doing in
- 22 that community at this point, with this group, is
- with the relationship with the police and the
- 24 community. And as part of the Filipino-American
- community, we have decided that one way is to

1 begin to also collaborate partnership related to

- 2 the police department.
- 3 So we entered into some kind of a
- 4 program, what we call Operation Linus. Linus in
- 5 Filipino means clean. Operation Neighborhood
- 6 Cleanliness. And a lot of other objectives we
- 7 have.
- 8 But behind that actually is part of our
- 9 perspective or move to begin to relate to the
- 10 police officers, and hopefully through this
- operation cleanup then we, too, will help clean up
- the -- quote, unquote, that department.
- 13 We have our intent to at least
- 14 cooperate. And with the new leadership we have
- 15 started to talk with the public relation Sergeant
- Perez of the unit in Rampart Division.
- 17 And I think that is probably one of the
- 18 things that I would look for from our panelists
- 19 and down the road that give us some kind of a
- 20 direction, or mode of operation in such a way that
- 21 we do begin to have some of our institutions,
- whether it's the police department or the L.A.
- 23 Unified School District, to take a look at the
- 24 diversity and unity of diversity in our community
- so we can move forward in a better direction.

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1 Thank you.
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- 2 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- 3 Diane.
- 4 MS. CHIN: Thank you, Lt. Governor, --
- 5 SPEAKER: If I can make a comment on
- 6 that?
- 7 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Sure.
- 8 SPEAKER: I think it's real important
- 9 that we all look at the possibilities of each of
- 10 our responsibilities.
- 11 What I mean by that is that the law
- enforcement profession is evolving and changing,
- 13 moving towards different directions, as is a lot
- 14 of society. Is that we should -- we can take the
- 15 opportunity to help redefine each of our roles in
- 16 this. We have the opportunity to do that.
- The law enforcement officer, for
- 18 example, in the school doesn't have to be the
- 19 security guard, but can be in the classroom to
- 20 help be the role model, to help influence what's
- 21 happening with the children.
- That's an opportunity we have in our
- society today. Because once again, the problems
- that we are facing are too big for one group. We
- 25 can't lay it all on the teachers; we can't lay it

- 1 all on police.
- 2 And I think it helps to try and get that
- 3 buy-in by expanding that role of everyone in
- 4 society.
- 5 MS. CHIN: On behalf of Jill Tregor, who
- 6 I'm representing today, and Intergroup
- 7 Clearinghouse, I wanted to actually request that
- 8 the Commission take a strong position in favor of
- 9 data collection.
- 10 And in whatever is the most appropriate
- 11 way, to actually oppose Senate Bill 66, which, in
- our opinion, sends a message that the Governor and
- 13 the Legislature actually condones racial profiling
- 14 because of the way in which this compromise bill
- was reached.
- 16 So, having said that, I also have a
- 17 question, I think, especially for the Assistant
- 18 Chief and Captain Davis, because you can't talk
- 19 about police accountability, I think, without
- 20 really talking about the code of silence.
- 21 And I was, for several years, the senior
- 22 trial attorney prosecuting administrative
- 23 complaints in San Francisco against police
- officers.
- 25 And what we dealt with time and time

1 again was the code of silence, was the inability

- 2 of unwillingness of police officers to hold their
- 3 own accountable.
- 4 And, yes, it has to come, I completely
- 5 agree with you, from leadership and from the
- 6 management. But no diversity training is going to
- 7 deal with the code of silence, it just doesn't.
- 8 And I've sat through, you know, learning
- 9 domain one through learning domain 42, and nothing
- deals with the code of silence in an effective
- 11 way.
- 12 And I know NOBLE has done some work on
- 13 this, but I just think it would be helpful to put
- 14 that on the table, to have the two of you comment.
- I also apologize because I'm going to
- 16 need to leave fairly soon for an appointment.
- 17 ASSISTANT CHIEF ARMSTEAD: Well, I have
- 18 to tell you that the code of silence does exist.
- 19 You will find a lot of police officers and
- administrators will deny that it exists.
- 21 I don't have any hard and steadfast
- answers in terms of how you break that. I do
- 23 think that leadership is important. I think that
- 24 instilling the value system that you want into
- your organization is important.

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And you have to understand something,
when you call an officer in and you're doing an
investigation, and you ask the question. If you
don't get an answer, and the officer knows
something, then in my opinion that officer is just
as guilty as if the officer goes out there and
commits a very flagrant violation.

So, again, I think that value system
that you institute, I think you have to let the
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that you institute, I think you have to let the officers know that if you, in fact, are not going to come forth and give information when you saw something or were involved in something, you have to let them know you're going to take some very stringent action against those individuals. Then I think that you will find that the code of silence may not be as tightly knit as you think.

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2.5

Again, I don't have any steadfast answers. I think leadership is important. But, again, you have to instill that value system and let officers know what you will and will not condone.

And again, if you sanction officers who are quiet and allow certain types of behavior to occur, then they're just as guilty as those officers who, in fact, are involved in the

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behavior, itself.
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- CHIEF DAVIS: I'd just add one thing
 that you have to, like with any problem, identify
 why the problem exists. Why do officers have the
 code of silence.

 And it's from their point of view is
 perceived because it's we versus them on the other
 side now. So, it's the flip side of that coin.

 In other words, you don't understand, you're not
 in my shoes, you don't understand me, and the only
- 12 (End tape 3A.)

11

25

CHIEF DAVIS: -- must protect each other

at all costs. I'm not saying that that's -- not

saying it's right, but understand why it exists.

ones who can understand what I'm going through --

- Once you understand it, then it's fair
 disciplinary processes and systems that starts
 instilling trust on the side of officers.
- 19 It is also a community that balances
 20 criticism with praise. You just can't always
 21 point the finger at officers and fire shots and
 22 say what they're not doing right. You must
 23 sometimes come up and actually praise them for
 24 what they're doing right, so that they feel that

even if I make a mistake I will be held

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accountable, but you're not going to attack me.
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- 2 So I think that's part of it, also.
- 3 And another part of it is I agree with
- 4 Chief Armstead, but I add one more level to it,
- 5 that silence or the failure to report is not equal
- 6 to the violation. It should be greater than the
- 7 original violation you're trying to protect from
- 8 to begin with.
- 9 So that the officers know that if I keep
- 10 silent, if I lie, then I'm going to get in more
- 11 trouble as if I told the truth, itself. And once
- 12 I get terminated for such ethical violations, then
- there has to be an agreement within the industry
- 14 that no one else will touch him or her. That that
- is it. You are history in this profession.
- 16 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Officer Burks.
- 17 OFFICER BURKS: Yes, I have suggested
- 18 that police officers have a national (inaudible)
- where they're protected when they come forward,
- and that will relieve some of the pressure off
- 21 coming forth and (inaudible) when they do expose
- inappropriate conduct by peace officers.
- 23 ASSISTANT CHIEF ARMSTEAD: And let me
- just add rather quickly, that's a good point
- 25 because as you were saying, Captain part of this

1 is the fear of some kind of retaliation. Okay, if

- 2 you go and tell, then we're not going to cover
- 3 you. Okay, and when you get out there in a
- 4 situation where you need cover now, I mean you
- 5 want somebody to cover your back.
- And a part of that is that if I tell
- 7 then am I going to be retaliated against. And
- 8 what type of, you know, what type of protection is
- 9 the organization going to give me, let's say, if I
- 10 step out front and give information.
- 11 And oftentimes we can't offer that
- 12 protection, as administrators, because we're not
- out there with them 24 hours a day.
- 14 So I think you make a valid point.
- 15 CHIEF DAVIS: Okay, (inaudible) with the
- 16 officer. I got to agree with the Commissioner on
- 17 one thing, and this is business cards across the
- board. Especially from NOBLE's perspective, my
- 19 perspective as an executive -- law person
- 20 executive, is that 99 percent of the officers that
- 21 we have are outstanding men and women trying to do
- the right thing.
- 23 And I think the majority of problems
- we're talking about at the table today are
- 25 systemic to the industry. And so they are looking

1 for leadership, they want leadership, and behind

- 2 closed doors when they're with themselves, they do
- 3 not want to work with someone who's doing
- 4 unethical, immoral things. That there's pride in
- 5 the uniform and badge.
- And whatever system we come up with,
- 7 whatever response we can come up with, it has to
- 8 always recognize that you have people that are
- 9 doing one of the most complex and tough jobs in
- 10 this nation. You just cannot make the assumption
- 11 that we're all bad. And I know you're not, but
- 12 when we start looking, kind of phrasing everything
- as complaints or negative, there should always be
- 14 the understood and the given, then now let's work
- on the system, let's work on training, let's work
- 16 on accountability, so that we protect officers and
- the community, not just the community.
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: The same way
- 19 that people who are out there in the community
- 20 should believe that when approached, they should
- 21 also be considered initially innocent.
- 22 CHIEF DAVIS: Most definitely.
- 23 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: The question
- to
- 24 both panels that says what is the next step. What
- 25 can we do as community leaders to start the next

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1 step? I'm assuming it means to begin the process
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- 2 of getting involved in the issue of racial
- 3 profiling, or to get their department or their
- 4 community involved with this issue.
- 5 Any thoughts on this from any of the
- 6 panel members or Commissioners on what should a
- 7 community leader who is out there right now,
- 8 what's the next step they should do.
- 9 SPEAKER: Lt. Governor, if I might just
- 10 add one thing. I've talked to Governor Davis
- 11 several times. What he has tried to say, and
- certainly I can appreciate people disagreeing, but
- 13 I think he would answer that -- I don't want to
- 14 speak for him -- but as community leaders, be it
- in the local city, be it in the county or whatever
- 16 entity we're in, each of us should go up and be
- sure that the people that are the elected
- 18 officials of that particular community know your
- 19 views.
- I understand perfectly -- because I can
- 21 assure you that some of the police chiefs that do
- not want to show the leadership, if the people
- that hire them make it real clear that that is the
- only acceptable avenue of action, those folks
- would do it.

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So, clearly the people that are elected
in city councils, boards of supervisors, we need
to insure that they understand how important this
is, and that they step up, just like we're asking
everyone else to do, and make it real clear to the
folks that work within their parameters, that they
will accept nothing less than what we are here as
a group kind of suggesting that they do.
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LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Sort of piggyback on what was said earlier by Mr. Davis, and what you just said, Commissioner, that those people who are supporting city council candidates and boards of supervisor candidates, that they make sure that they understand this issue, the position on this issue. So that when they hire the police chief or the sheriff, that those folks that are going to be hired, those people who are hiring city managers and CAOs, are going to be people who are understanding of this particular issue.

21 And that's clearly one thing that 22 community leaders can say yes.

Michelle.

MS. ALEXANDER: (inaudible.) And also to write the state legislators and let them know

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that we don't want a bill that does not include
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         data collection. That you oppose any effort to
 3
         (inaudible) that does not include data collection.
                   (Inaudible) -- write your legislators,
         write (inaudible), make clear that as (inaudible).
 5
                   SPEAKER: If I can just make one -- the
         next step for me would be, I was talking to Dr.
         KLITGAARD about this, is recognizing the officers
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 9
         (inaudible) crime reduction is actually start
10
         doing some research that is the data or the
11
         evidence necessary to show officers that random
         car stops, that targeting or profiling, besides
12
         the fact that it's immoral and illegal, is just
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14
         not good police work.
                   It's inefficient. It's not netting the
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16
         gains that we think it is. And that the officers
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         that are truly trying to do the right thing and
         trying to reduce crime, and we can show them, in
18
         fact, there's a lot of books and different
19
20
         studies, that we're just wasting our time. Let
2.1
         alone what we're doing to the community. Then we
         need to start focusing on other solutions.
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                   SPEAKER: In addition to all of those
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24
         comments, I think that we have a responsibility to
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help people understand that we, too, have a role.

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1 That the citizen has a responsibility and that the

- 2 police officer or the law enforcement officer also
- 3 has to be on guard.
- 4 And if we help people to understand what
- 5 the dynamics are on both sides, then maybe we can
- for the number of conflictive situations.
- 7 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: There were
- 8 several questions that came in from the audience
- 9 dealing with immigration, dealing with the INS and
- 10 border patrol. And the interaction of law
- 11 enforcement in dealing with the issue of
- 12 immigration, especially so close to the border,
- 13 with all the border crossings that take place near
- 14 here. The interaction of the police department in
- 15 having some effect with racial profiling and
- 16 identifying people for different causes.
- My guess is that the question is
- 18 basically asking first, is there any way to stop
- 19 the immigration officers of doing that, but more
- 20 importantly, I think to this discussion, is to
- 21 what extent are you involved with INS or any of
- those agencies, as a police department.
- ASSISTANT CHIEF ARMSTEAD: Well, we
- 24 certainly are involved because we have the
- 25 southern station that's right down at the border.

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1 So we interact with them on a daily basis.
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- We have sort of like concurrent
- jurisdiction there at the border. And, in fact,
- 4 it's just the line. If something happens on our
- 5 side, then we certainly take care of it. If
- 6 something happens on the other side of the line,
- 7 then they have to take care of it.
- And again, we enter that every single
- 9 day with --
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: But they're
- 11 talking about the racial profiling issue, and how
- 12 that is used to stop people because they happen to
- look like they're from the other side.
- 14 ASSISTANT CHIEF ARMSTEAD: Well, I'm
- 15 sure that that occurs, just as it would in regular
- 16 traffic stops. I have not had those types of
- 17 complaints. I have the southern division, that's
- 18 part of my neighborhood policing area. I have not
- had personally any of those types of complaints
- 20 relative to our police officers.
- So, again, if we get those complaints
- we're going to investigate them. And from an
- internal affairs standpoint, just like we would
- 24 any other complaint regarding discrimination or
- 25 racism.

1 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: So for those

- 2 five people who wrote questions regarding this
- 3 particular issue, you know exactly who to talk to.
- 4 (Laughter.)
- 5 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Serious, you
- 6 know, who to talk to. That also goes back to the
- 7 issue of what can we do as a community leader. If
- 8 you're from this community and you had those
- 9 issues or those questions, clearly you have
- someone here, you have the Chief here who is
- 11 clearly trying to resolve those issues.
- 12 Let's see, one last question here,
- 13 because we're getting close to the point of --
- 14 unless the Commissioners have any other questions
- or comments?
- 16 SPEAKER: One last comment from me.
- 17 Talking with NHTSA, which is National Highway
- 18 Traffic Safety Administration, just a little bit
- of background information.
- I think right now the number one killer
- 21 of young African-American males is actually
- traffic accidents.
- One of the concerns they have, though,
- is as we start pushing the message of buckle-up,
- 25 that, if we do not address this issue of bias-

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1 based policing and racial profiling, then the
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- 2 message of buckle-up will become a pretext to stop
- 3 young minority males other than premised on
- 4 traffic safety.
- 5 So, it's, you know, we're losing young
- 6 men to traffic accidents, but we're afraid to send
- 7 a message about buckle-up because we're afraid
- 8 it's going to be misused as a pretext to racial
- 9 profiling.
- 10 So I would say there is a sense of
- 11 urgency, and that the next steps have to start
- 12 like today.
- 13 And I just want to applaud the Lt.
- 14 Governor for forming the Commission and for this
- 15 day, and to actually be able to throw this out on
- 16 the table, which I think is outstanding. Thank
- 17 you, sir.
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- 19 Commissioner, a question here says that CHP has
- 20 not hired any African-American females in the past
- 21 six years.
- 22 COMMISSIONER HELMICK: Well, as I
- indicated earlier, Governor, that's simply not
- 24 accurate. And I'm not -- it's simply not
- 25 accurate, so -- we just had a graduation in which

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I happened to pin the badges on, and there were
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- 2 African-American females there.
- 3 So I don't -- I'd be happy in each
- 4 specific allegation of that nature, to sit down
- 5 with the individual. Matter of fact, we've got
- 6 two of our Chiefs and one of our Lieutenants --
- 7 raise your hands, guys -- back there.
- 8 Yeah, our new Captain in Oakland is a
- 9 female black. I don't think the purpose of this
- is to try to get into some of these specifics.
- 11 I'll be happy to address any one of them, but I'm
- not going to take the time to debate something
- that's simply not accurate.
- 14 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Okay. And it
- 15 indicates here, one last question, why submit the
- 16 data -- my guess is what it's trying to say here
- 17 is that the data that the CHP is gathering, will
- 18 it be reviewed by outside agencies, or only by the
- 19 CHP?
- 20 COMMISSIONER HELMICK: No, it's going to
- 21 be reviewed by us, and then submitted. It will be
- given to anyone that wants a copy of it. So
- 23 anyone sitting here can review it and digest it
- and consider it.
- We have a group of research analysts,

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and we're the ones looking at it; it's for my
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- 2 purpose to try to learn from it. But everything
- 3 that we have is going to be a public record.
- 4 Anyone in the world that wants a copy certainly
- 5 can have a copy of it.
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: All right.

Did

- 7 you have a comment? Go ahead.
- 8 SPEAKER: Lt. Governor, I have a
- 9 question for you.
- 10 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Sure.
- 11 SPEAKER: And perhaps the rest of the
- Committee. We had a (inaudible).
- 13 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: I'm sorry, you
- 14 said?
- 15 SPEAKER: (Inaudible.)
- 16 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Okay. Do we
- want to start over here with Carol, would you like
- 18 to -- do you want -- if you don't have a comment,
- just pass, just wave me off.
- 20 COMMISSIONER HAYASHINO: I'd like to make a comment.
- 21 First of all I think locally and statewide, I'd
- like to find ways to promote community policing.
- I think that's very very important. That's number
- one.
- Number two, in addition to promoting

1 diversity training, I think we need to find ways

- 2 to promote expanded recruitment. I think that's
- 3 critical.
- 4 We have spent a lot of time talking
- 5 about discussing training and what is good
- 6 diversity training, I think -- and that's very
- 7 important -- but that's only part of the solution.
- 8 I think we need to find concrete ways to diversify
- 9 our law enforcement officers, the rank-and-file,
- 10 as well as the leadership.
- 11 Thirdly is I'd like to find a way for
- this Commission to be active in amending
- 13 legislation so it does include data collection.
- 14 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Great.
- 15 (Inaudible).
- 16 SPEAKER: I think that if we're going
- 17 to, since we spent the day listening to this, and
- now I'm informed about the issues, I would
- 19 certainly want to come up with some kind of a
- document or statement that we, as a Commission,
- 21 could vote to recommend to the Legislature.
- 22 Otherwise I think we would not be
- fulfilling any kind of mandate. So, I'd like to
- see, you know, the staff or a small group of us
- come up with something that we could come up with

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1 a vote on, and endorse.
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- 2 Otherwise, I think we're not really
- 3 fulfilling what you wanted us to do.
- 4 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: How about if
- 5 we, in order to be able to do that, how about if
- 6 we take each of the thoughts of the Commissioners
- 7 and have staff work with Mr. KLITGAARD.
- 8 We can put together a brief statement
- 9 and perhaps forward it to the members to get their
- 10 comments. And then turn that around very very
- 11 quickly so that we have something done by next
- week? Would that work for the members? Okay?
- 13 Do you have any thoughts about, besides
- 14 that issue?
- 15 SPEAKER: Yes, I would just say
- 16 everything that she said I agree with.
- 17 (Laughter.)
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Got it.
- 19 COMMISSIONER ELGENAIDI: -- what I was going to say.
- 20 Earlier when we had talked about this in a smaller
- group I was undecided about whether to support
- 22 Murray's bill or not because my reason, as I had a
- 23 conversation with Dr. Kayden, Executive
- 24 Director of the Commission, I didn't have enough
- information. I think I do now.

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1 And I think we should amend Murray's
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- bill and to try to mandate data collection.
- 3 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Well, we can't
- do that, but we can recommend it.
- 5 SPEAKER: We can recommend it.
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Yes.
- 7 SPEAKER: I'd like to emphasize one
- 8 thing that you talked about in the very first
- 9 meeting, that is try to effect local, as well as
- 10 statewide, initiatives.
- 11 And I like very much the idea of putting
- 12 together even a summary of what we've heard today;
- send it to local communities and to community
- groups in those communities, with our strong
- 15 recommendations, as an incentive to them to take a
- 16 look at this issue, see if they can do something
- 17 locally.
- 18 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Okay, thank
- 19 you. Any panelists want to make their comment
- about what we could do? Any thoughts? No? No?
- No? Okay.
- DR. KAYDENT: Well, I'm taking a lot of
- notes, you'll hear from me.
- 24 My sense is I think the biggest issue is
- how are we going to change the culture of the

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police department. And one thing I've been
thinking of, listening to this, there was a book
written about 30 years ago by James Q. Wilson
(phonetic) called Varieties of Police Behavior,
where he talked about police departments serving
different kinds of communities.
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Suburban police tended to see their role

as protecting citizens from -- getting the cats

out of the trees and taking the kids home. And

big city police tended to see themselves as more

of an army that's protected the establishment.

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I think one of the things about diversity that we are seeing is that what, in the past, was seen as the established versus the disestablished, is no longer viable. And I think it really goes to the core of how we change the internal culture of the police to see themselves as something else.

So that it struck me, for instance if the LAPD is so hostile to the notion of external oversight, or yesterday, The Los Angeles Times published a story that the police chief has decided to accede to the demands of many of the city council and of the neighborhood groups for senior lead officers to go back, to re-create

1 senior lead officers in the communities. But it

- was the core of the community policing.
- 3 Instead of doing that he's willing to
- 4 give them cell phones, which was not sufficient to
- the communities, because they'll just be calling,
- 6 you know, calling the same -- that's not like
- 7 having someone on the street.
- I think we need to sort of get our big
- 9 city police, and many of the chiefs are here and I
- 10 really am impressed and appreciate what they're
- saying, but to get them to think about the
- policing as a whole other function.
- 13 SPEAKER: Yes, well, you know, I really
- 14 would love to believe that 99 percent of all
- 15 police officers are wonderful and they all want to
- 16 do a great job and da-da-ta-da, and this is a very
- 17 small thing that we're talking about, some traffic
- stops and this and that and the other thing.
- 19 And I would love to believe that, and in
- 20 these kind of discussions that I've been a party
- 21 to before, it always comes back to that kind of
- thing.
- But, as an American, when I see what's
- going on in Rampart, we're not now just talking
- about people being stopped because of the color of

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their skin, but we're now talking about people
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- 2 being sent to prison who are completely innocent
- 3 because of the color of their skin, it's
- 4 horrifying to me. And I think we should all be
- 5 horrified by that.
- And I believe that the racial profiling
- 7 that we're talking about leads to this exact kind
- 8 of thing. Where now we're building prisons with
- 9 black and brown young men, which is a logical
- 10 extension of this. Who are being incarcerated
- 11 simply because they're black and brown young men.
- 12 And the society, the police departments
- deem this as being a crime where they feel society
- 14 needs to be protected from them. And I find that
- 15 horrifying. It's scary. I don't want my kids to
- 16 grow up in a society like that.
- 17 I don't like the further consequences of
- 18 that. So I think that the situation that we're
- 19 talking about here, and as I'm listening to this
- today, is very deep.
- 21 The code of silence, you know how deep
- 22 that is. We're talking about the officers, the
- older officers who train the younger officers in
- this kind of behavior, that they have been trained
- 25 in their official training not to do, but the

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older officers teach them to do it, and it's what
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- 2 they do in the field.
- And so this is really deep. And I'm
- 4 frightened by it, and I think that the measures, I
- 5 mean I don't want to -- I think we have to be
- 6 careful of just putting a band-aid on cancer
- 7 theory that somehow this is going to cover it up.
- 8 I think that the police departments need
- 9 to be accountable for what they do. I think that
- 10 data needs to be gathered, absolutely. And I also
- 11 think -- and I'm not a politician or somebody who
- understands how these systems get reorganized, but
- 13 I think that the police systems do need to be
- 14 reorganized because they were created and grew in
- 15 a different society that was meant to do something
- 16 different than what our society is involved with.
- 17 So I think that the systemic concept of
- 18 the entire organization of police departments
- 19 needs to be looked at. And I think that the
- 20 concept of neighborhood policing, that is
- instituted that people from their own
- neighborhoods are policing their own, needs to
- somehow be put into this system.
- Otherwise, it's going to continue to
- 25 result in things like what we saw in Rampart,

1 which I think is completely unacceptable to us, as

- 2 a state, and as a nation.
- 3 Thank you.
- 4 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Go ahead.
- 5 SPEAKER: First of all, Lt. Governor, we
- 6 thank you for allowing us to come together today
- 7 and discuss this issue. And I am in complete
- 8 agreement with what was stated across the table,
- 9 that we must analyze the information that we
- 10 gathered here today, and come forward with a
- 11 positive statement in the sense of direction for
- 12 everyone to adhere to.
- 13 A question that was posed earlier, what
- 14 can we do, as community leaders. We, as community
- 15 leaders, owe it to our children and the nation and
- 16 the citizens of this state, okay, to get actively
- involved, community policing works.
- 18 And the only way community policing
- 19 works is when citizens stand up and get involved
- 20 in your community. When I say get involved, sit
- on the advisory boards, get involved in the clergy
- 22 councils, get involved in the chaplaincy programs
- within the police departments. And have a voice
- in your community.
- 25 Because if we do not stand up and take

1 control of what is going on in our community, then

- 2 we might as well all go home, bury our heads in
- 3 the sand and wait for tomorrow.
- 4 Thank you.
- 5 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- 6 SPEAKER: Amen, Reverend. And I just
- 7 want to add the employment recruitment of
- 8 diversity of people that should move up the ranks
- 9 in good manners, and the other is yes, I support
- 10 the issue of that continuing education when the
- 11 police finish the training, there should be some
- other follow-up continuing education, special
- 13 activities, because indeed, our communities are
- 14 changing very very fast.
- 15 SPEAKER: I, too, also concur with the
- 16 comments made across the table. I'd also like to
- 17 encourage the law enforcement agencies across the
- state to partner and outreach with the newer
- 19 community groups, like the Koreans and the
- 20 Southeast Asians and Russians.
- 21 They come from governments where they
- 22 fear their governments and it takes just a little
- 23 bit more to partner and build trust and
- understanding with those community groups.
- 25 And I, too, support the inclusion of

- data collection in the current legislation.
- 2 SPEAKER: Thank you. I hope that maybe
- 3 all police departments can maybe hire more women.
- 4 I think they would make it a little bit better
- 5 police department.
- I think also that we -- every time I
- 7 look at like LAPD I see, you know, Marines just
- 8 getting out, and they're all 6'2", and they all
- 9 have great big chests, and you know, it's like
- they all want to beat somebody up.
- 11 Why can't we have some people that may
- be in their 40s, that aren't, you know, have this
- 13 idea that they got to go beat somebody up, and
- just be normal police. You know, (inaudible).
- I also want to say, I want to put my
- 16 word in for having data collection, too.
- 17 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you.
- And
- 18 just to respond directly, I think there's probably
- 19 several things that I would recommend. There were
- 20 several issues that were raised today, such as the
- 21 nonuniform practices that are taught. They vary
- differently from one place to the other.
- 23 And trying to identify that huge
- 24 disparity that takes place between one department
- and another, might be something we should clearly

- take a look at.
- 2 Also, those areas where clustered
- 3 demographics take place, within police
- 4 departments. That there should be some
- 5 acknowledgement that, in fact, this practice takes
- 6 place for good or for bad, by design or by
- 7 default. And that we should try to find a way to
- 8 be able to go in and to try to identify the causes
- 9 for those problems.
- 10 Obviously there are many officers. It
- 11 doesn't make any difference what color they are.
- 12 They believe that while they're on the street it's
- a matter of survival for them. They have
- families, too. They have things that they have to
- 15 deal with. And they clearly are in a survival
- mode.
- 17 Well, when you're in a survival mode,
- like when you're in the military, there are going
- 19 to be casualties that are just assumed that are
- going to be okay as long as you survive.
- 21 And I think that that clearly is not the
- 22 role of a police officer. That clearly is a
- different mentality, and only through training are
- you able to be able to deal with that particular
- 25 mentality.

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The other thing is that the -- and it
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 2
         was raised earlier, is that the community colleges
         are very very involved. In fact, 50 percent of
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         the training, according to Chief Creason,
         indicated that 50 percent of the community
         colleges train law enforcement officers.
                   And it would be, I think, a process that
         we could get involved with, to do with the
 9
         community college trustees, as well as through
         other groups, to be able to review the kind of
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         training that's taking place through there.
                   I'm assuming that they go and use the
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         POST training curriculum. And if the current
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         training is being reviewed right now, as to the
         field versus academic training activity, and what
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         they're doing in those police departments, and
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         trying to figure out the differences between field
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         and academic, I think clearly those things can be
         included in the community college system.
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         Something that the State of California clearly has
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21
         an effect on.
                   The other thing is that clearly all the
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         members of POST are appointees, is that correct?
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         They're all appointees. They're appointed by
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         somebody. And if there are issues that are
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1 involved with the training that should be dealt

- with, then those who appoint should have some
- 3 impact on those appointees to make sure that the
- 4 kind of training that's involved will be done in a
- way.
- 6 Also, my understanding is that the
- 7 Attorney General is a member of that, and so maybe
- 8 one of the things that we should do is that we
- 9 should contact the Attorney General and see how he
- might be able to intersect with the activities
- 11 that we are dealing with.
- 12 There were several other issues that
- 13 came up. What I'll do is I'll put them in some
- 14 kind of a list. Add them to the staff document
- that will be prepared.
- 16 We'll try to condense it to about a page
- or a page and a half. Fax it to all the members
- 18 after review this week, and try to make sure that
- 19 we get this thing sort of wrapped up by next week.
- 20 Okay?
- 21 We have two hands, and then we're going
- to -- three hands, and then we are going to close
- this, as we are nearing the time of closure.
- Yes, sir, in the front.
- 25 SPEAKER: I have a question (inaudible)

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1 So let's not just put this in three or four hands,
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- 2 let's put it back in the public's hands
- 3 (inaudible). That's from the President to the
- 4 lowest person (inaudible). That's what should be
- 5 done. (Inaudible.)
- 6 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you,
- 7 Colonel Smith.
- 8 SPEAKER: Lt. Governor, I (inaudible)
- 9 and I'm a native San Diegan. I want to request
- 10 that you (inaudible) racial profiling, of course,
- 11 is not limited to law enforcement, except that
- people in law enforcement have badges and weapons.
- And that racial profiling,
- unfortunately, a lot of it is the media has a lot
- 15 to do with that. And a lot of times the images
- 16 that they present of us, people of color, are not
- 17 positive images. So the police force and law
- 18 enforcement people that have weapons and badges
- 19 and so forth, and have been screened, are only a
- 20 microcosm of society at large in this country.
- 21 And I think that there's something
- 22 besides driving while black or brown, and that's
- 23 being in the media while black or brown. A lot of
- images are portrayed of our communities of color,
- 25 I'm not excluding Asians or Native Americans, I

1 mean similar situations, are not positive images.

- 2 And I believe it goes back to what
- 3 Officer Burks said, that people at the top that
- 4 (inaudible) for example, a lot of times they're
- 5 not of color. So a lot of times the issues that
- 6 are portrayed about our communities are not
- 7 positive issues.
- 8 Well, we know that our communities all
- 9 are communities, whether red, white or blue, do
- 10 positive things, but what's portrayed in the media
- a lot of times is the negative things that our
- 12 communities of color do, and unfortunately taint
- 13 the way the law enforcement and government a lot
- of times looks at these issues.
- 15 And I think that's a very important
- 16 issue as far as what can the community do. I
- 17 think it's important that the community be brave
- 18 enough, like some people have in their community,
- 19 such as Officer Burks and others here, and speak
- 20 out about the injustices of racial profiling; the
- fact that we are all -- should all be treated
- 22 equal.
- 23 And that's why I was very aggressive in
- 24 writing letters, I wrote an article called "His
- 25 name is (inaudible)", where I talk about the

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1 undocumented workers and how they're subjected to
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- 2 this type of treatment all the time. And most of
- 3 the undocumented immigrants to this country are
- 4 not Latino. Most people on welfare are not of
- 5 color.
- 6 And so but the images that are portrayed
- 7 are not the accurate ones. And I think that we
- 8 need to be brave enough to write letters, write
- 9 articles, and just speak out.
- 10 What made this country great is
- diversity and (inaudible).
- 12 LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: Thank you, and
- just so you know, the Commission, in one of its
- 14 first meetings, held a Commission meeting at the
- 15 Wiesenthal Center to talk specifically about the
- 16 diversity issue in the media. Especially on the
- 17 tv stations and in the movies.
- 18 And we clearly have been joined with the
- 19 NAACP, with the Native Americans, the Amerasian
- groups, in order to be able to try to deal with
- that whole issue.
- And we've met with the CEOs and
- presidents of ABC, CBS, NBC, many many others, in
- an attempt to try to sensitize the group. There
- 25 has been a lot of activity. So far, not a whole

- 1 lot of production.
- In fact, there is one of the things that
- 3 we thought might come -- I'll make sure and get to
- 4 you, you don't have to -- I don't want your arm to
- 5 get tired -- was that one of the local, actually
- it was CBS, who put together some money for a
- 7 pilot for a wonderful program that was prepared.
- 8 They unfortunately didn't pick up the
- 9 pilot. It was a pilot that was about a Latino
- 10 family. I especially liked it because the father
- was a barber, just like mine. But it was done
- with such grace and it was just a beautifully done
- 13 project. And if you don't believe me, just ask
- Gregory Nava, because he's the one who did it.
- 15 It's a beautiful production and we are
- 16 now looking to try to put that into one of the
- 17 major, so that not only will "City of Angels" be
- on, but hopefully this wonderful program, an
- 19 American family, will also be on airwaves which
- 20 produces really positive activity, blending some
- of the culture, but also clearly positive images
- of what Latinos are and can be.
- 23 Ma'am?
- 24 SPEAKER: Yeah, my name is (inaudible).
- 25 I just wanted to make a simple request that any

1	document that (inaudible).
2	LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR BUSTAMANTE: My two staff
3	right here in the front, right here, all you have
4	to do is get a card from them. Communicate with
5	them, and we'll make sure and send you
6	information. Okay?
7	Again, thank you to all the
8	Commissioners who have been here patiently,
9	delving into this issue. It's amazing, the two
10	panels were great. Thank all the audience members
11	who have come, and all the media exposure that
12	we're hopefully going to put out on this
13	particular issue.
14	It's a very very important subject as
15	many of us clearly understand and know. And we
16	look forward to doing something relatively quick
17	about trying to impact the planned public policy
18	that is taking place in the state.
19	Again, thank you all for coming.
20	(Applause.)
21	(Whereupon, the proceedings were
22	adjourned.)
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CERTIFICATE OF TRANSCRIBER

I certify that the foregoing is a correct transcript from the electronic sound recording of the proceedings in the above-entitled matter, to the best of my ability.

June 6, 2000

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